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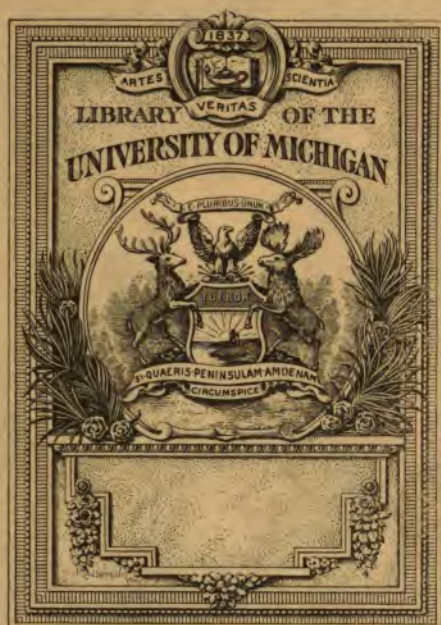
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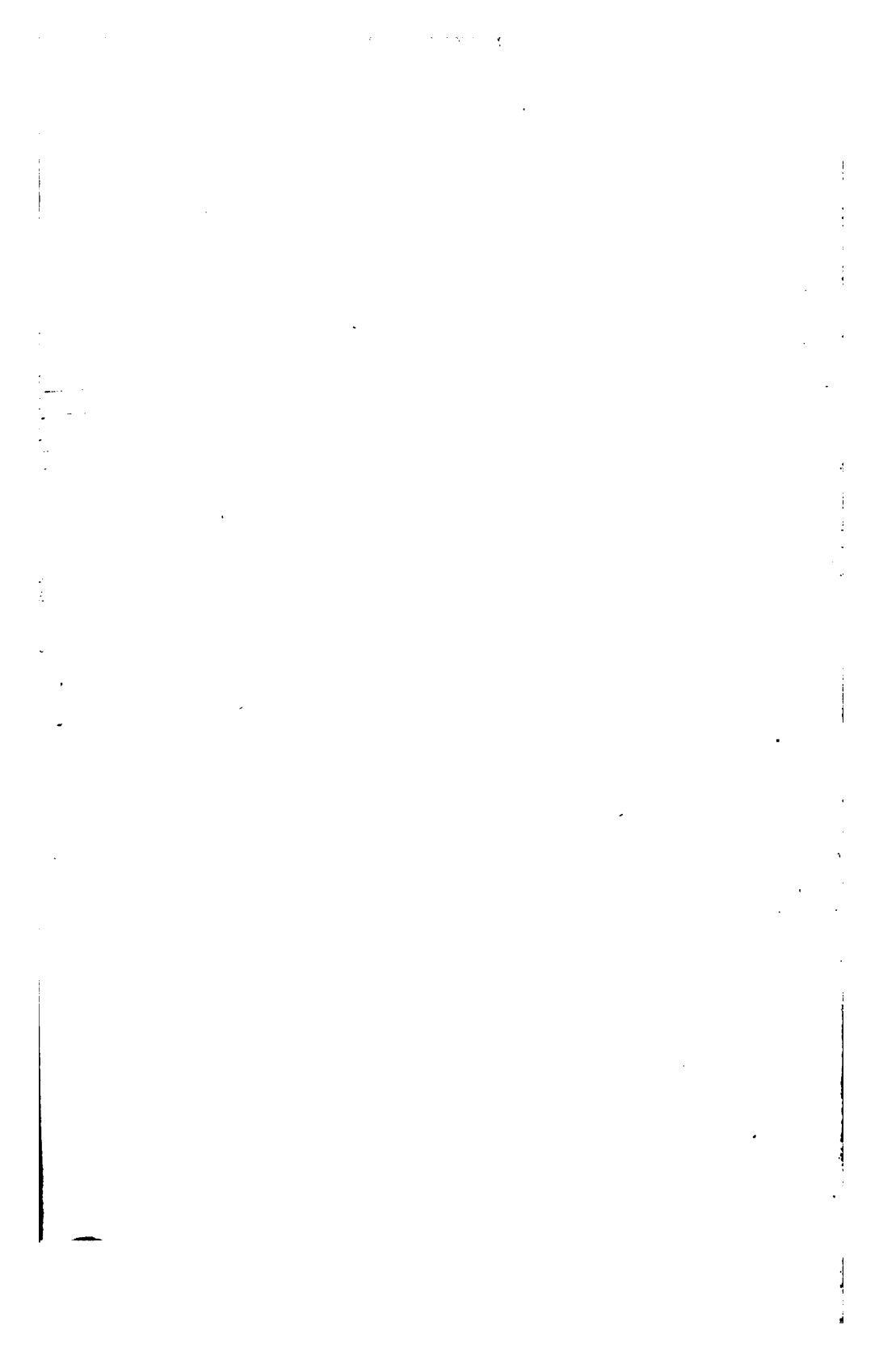
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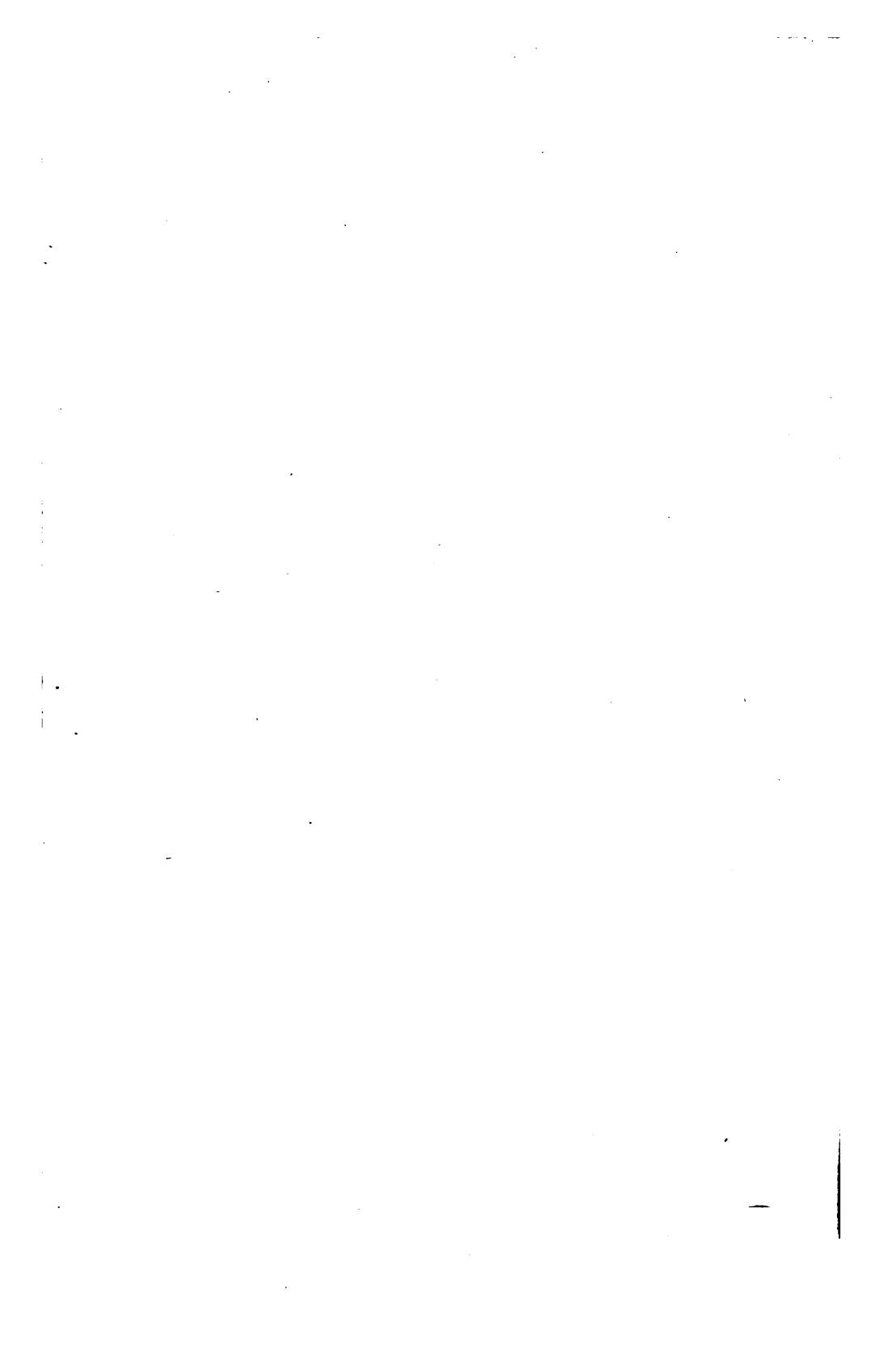
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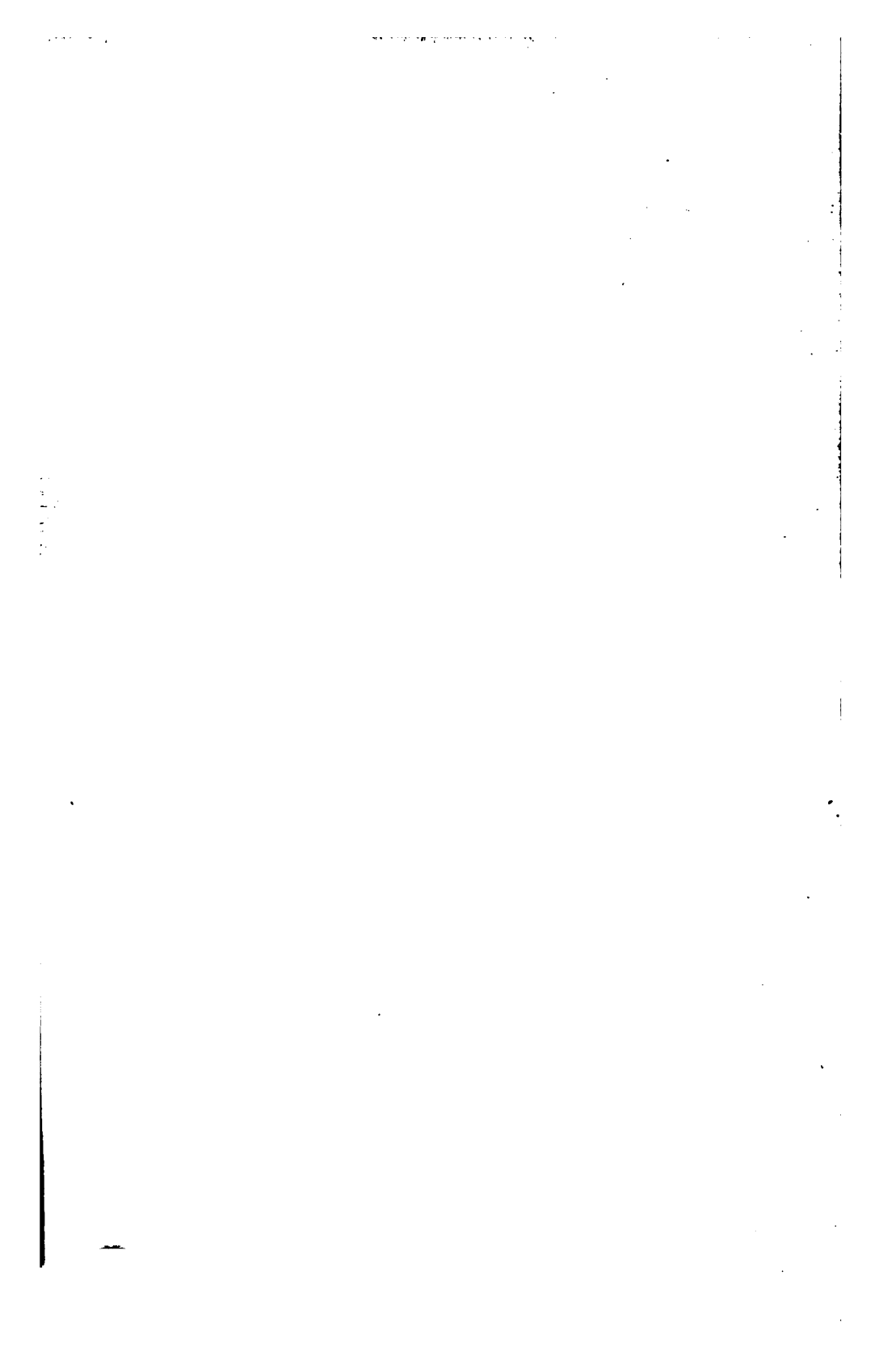
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. XVI.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N^o. LXI.

NEW SERIES — N^o. XXXI.

MARCH, 1834.

ART. I. — *An Address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Yale College, New Haven, August 20, 1833.*
By EDWARD EVERETT. Published by request of the Society. New Haven. Hezekiah Howe & Co. 1833.
8vo. pp. 35.

MR. EVERETT is not one of those orators whose eloquence tells only on the ear, and is forgotten with the occasion which called it forth. His printed performances approve themselves not less to our deliberate judgment than his living word does to our immediate sympathy. The oration before us fully sustains the impression made by its delivery. It is a rich and powerful production. We read it not without a sensation of regret that its author should ever have exchanged the province of letters, that peaceful kingdom in which he possesses so rich an inheritance, for the narrow and noisy world of politics. Surely there are minds enough, less richly endowed and less philosophically cast, to whom the business of legislation may be entrusted with safety. In a country like ours, statesmen are never wanting, they are the natural produce of the soil; but we are poor in scholars, and our literature suffers for want of them. It is difficult to say why so large a portion of the talents of the nation is spent in politics. The rewards, which that service holds out, present, one would think, but little temptation. Who that is capable of better things could be content to struggle through long years of strife and contumely and soul-wasting unrest, for no other returns than the barren sceptre and the fruitless crown of a republican government. Nor does patriotism

demand this sacrifice ; for, surely, the training of the public mind to literary excellence is a task nowise less worthy the lover of his country, than the adjustment of its foreign relations or its internal broils. Nothing can explain the fact of which we are speaking, but that passionate love of excitement which seems to be a ruling principle of this age. It was not, however, our intention to enter into any discussion of this sort ; we meant merely to express our regret that a mind like Mr. Everett's, — a gem of such rare water, should be, as it seems to us, so unprofitably set.

To return to the oration before us ; — its subject is “the nature and efficacy of Education as the great human instrument of improving the condition of man.” Mr. Everett proves education to have been formerly a thing apart from the participation of the great mass of mankind. “It was the training of a privileged class.” But now it has become a universal concern, the business and the privilege of the whole community. He next proceeds to explain the philosophy of education, and shows that it rests “on the broad and eternal basis of natural love.” It is a duty necessarily resulting from that great natural revolution, which in the course of a few years is to supplant all the present actors on the stage of life by a new race of beings. It is a work to be performed by one generation on that which is to succeed it, — “*the mind of this age acting on the mind of the next.*” The effects of education are beautifully illustrated by a comparison between the condition of a New Zealand savage and that of the European or American navigator who visits his shores ; and again by a comparison between that state of ignorance and helplessness in which we all enter into life, and the attainments of after years. In the application of the principles unfolded, to the present condition and the future prospects of society, which occupies the remainder of the Address, the author confesses himself an enthusiast. “And here I am willing to own myself an enthusiast, and all I ask is that men will have the courage to follow the light of general principles, and patience for great effects to flow from mighty causes.” — “We have now in our possession three instruments of civilization unknown to the ancients, of power separately to work almost any miracle of improvement, and the united force of which is adequate to the achievement of any thing not morally and physically impossible. These are, the art of printing, — a

sort of mechanical magic for the diffusion of knowledge; free representative government, — a perpetual regulator and equalizer of human condition, the inequalities of which are the great scourge of society; — and, lastly, a pure and spiritual religion, — the deep fountain of generous enthusiasm, — the mighty spring of bold and lofty designs; — the great sanctuary of moral power." The want of one or all of these instruments, Mr. Everett thinks, satisfactorily explains the vicissitudes of ancient civilization. In proof of this assertion, various instances are cited from the history of ancient empires. The example of Greece, in particular, is dwelt upon as furnishing, in some respects, an exception to the other nations of antiquity.

"Greece indeed fell. But how did she fall? Did she fall like Babylon? Did she fall 'like Lucifer, never to hope again?' Or did she not rather go down, like that brighter luminary, of which Lucifer is but the herald?

'So sinks the day-star in the ocean's bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and, with new spangled ore,
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.'

"What, but the ever-living power of literature and religion, preserved the light of civilization and the intellectual stores of the past, unextinguished in Greece, during the long and dreary ages of the decline and downfall of the Roman empire? What preserved these sterile provinces and petty islets from sinking, beyond redemption, in the gulf of barbarity, in which Cyrene, and Egypt, and Syria, were swallowed up? It was Christianity and letters, retreating to their fastnesses on mountain-tops and in secluded valleys, — the heights of Athos, the peaks of Meteora, the caverns of Arcadia, the secluded cells of Patmos. Here, while all else in the world seemed swept away, by one general flood of barbarism, civil discord, and military oppression, the Greek monks of the dark ages preserved and transcribed their Homers, their Platos, and their Plutarchs. There never was, strictly speaking, a dark age in Greece. Eustathius wrote his admirable commentaries on Homer, in the middle of the twelfth century. That surely, if ever, was the midnight of the mind; but it was clear and serene day in his learned cell; and Italy, proud already of her Dante, her Boccaccio, and Petrarch, — her Medicean patronage and her reviving arts, — did not think it beneath her to sit at the feet of the poor fugitives from the final downfall of Constantinople." — p. 24.

Then, after describing the condition of this country previous to the last revolution, he continues,

"Such was Greece thirteen years ago, and the prospect of throwing off the Turkish yoke, in every respect but this last, was as wild and chimerical, as the effort to throw off the Cordilleras from this continent. In all respects but one, it would have been as reasonable to expect to raise a harvest of grain from the barren rock of Hydra, as to found a free and prosperous state, in this abject Turkish province. But the standard of liberty was raised, on the soil of Greece, by the young men who returned from the universities of western Europe, and the civilized world was electrified at the tidings. It was the birth-place of the arts, — the cradle of letters. Reasons of state held back the governments of Europe and of America from an interference in their favor, but intellectual sympathy, religious and moral feeling, and the public opinion of the age, rose in their might, and swept all the barriers of state logic away. They were feeble, unarmed, without organization, distracted by feuds; an adamant wall of neutrality on the west; an incensed barbarian empire, — horde after horde, — from the confines of Anatolia to the cataracts of the Nile, — pouring down upon them, on the east. Their armies and their navies were a mockery of military power, their resources calculated to inspire rather commiseration than fear. But their spirits were sustained, and their wearied hands upheld, by the benedictions and the succours of the friends of freedom. The memory of their great men of old went before them to battle, and scattered dismay in the ranks of the barbarous foe, as he moved, like Satan in hell, with uneasy steps, over the burning soil of freedom. The sympathy of all considerate and humane persons was enlisted in behalf of the posterity, however degenerate, of those, who had taught letters and humanity to the world. Men could not bear, with patience, that Christian people, striking for liberty, should be trampled down by barbarian infidels, on the soil of Attica and Sparta. The public opinion of the world was enlisted on their side, — and Liberty herself, personified, seemed touched with compassion, as she heard the cry of her venerated parent, the guardian genius of Greece. She hastened to realize the holy legend of the Roman daughter, and send back from her pure bosom the tide of life to the wasting form of her parent.

'The milk of his own gift ; — it is her sire
To whom she renders back the debt of blood,
Born with her birth ; — no, he shall not expire.'

Greece did not expire. The sons of Greece caught new life from desperation; the plague of the Turkish arms was stayed; till the governments followed, where the people had led the way, and the war, which was sustained by the literary and religious sympathies of the friends of art and science, was brought to a triumphant close, by the armies and navies of Europe:—and there they now stand, the first great reconquest of modern civilization.

“Many, I doubt not, who hear me, have had the pleasure, within a few weeks, of receiving a Greek oration, pronounced in the temple of Theseus, on the reception at Athens of the first official act of the young Christian prince, under whom the government of this interesting country is organized. What contemplations does it not awaken, to behold a youthful Bavarian prince, deputed by the great powers of Europe, to go, with the guaranties of letters, religion, and the arts, to the city of Minerva, which had reached the summit of human civilization, ages before Bavaria had emerged from the depths of the Black Forest! One can almost imagine the shades of the great of other days, the patriots and warriors, the philosophers and poets, the historians and orators, rising from their renowned graves, to greet the herald of their country's restoration. One can almost fancy that the sacred dust of the Ceramicus must kindle into life as he draws near; that the sides of Delphi and Parnassus, and the banks of the Ilissus, must swarm with the returning spirits of ancient times. Yes! Marathon and Thermopylæ are moved to meet him at his coming,—martyrs of liberty, names that shall never die,—Solon and Pericles, Socrates and Phocion, not now with their cups of hemlock in their hands, but with the deep lines of their living cares effaced from their serene brows,—at the head of that glorious company of poets, sages, artists, and heroes, which the world has never equalled, descend the famous road from the Acropolis to the sea, to bid the Deliverer welcome to the land of glory and the arts. “Remember,” they cry, “Oh, Prince! the land thou art set to rule; it is the soil of freedom. Remember the great and wise of old, in whose place thou art called to stand,—the fathers of liberty; remember the precious blood which has wet these sacred fields; pity the bleeding remnants of what was once so grand and fair; respect these time-worn and venerable ruins; raise up the fallen columns of these beautiful fanes, and consecrate them to the Heavenly Wisdom; restore the banished muses to their native seat; be the happy instrument, in the hand of Heaven, of enthroning letters, and liberty, and religion, on the summits of our ancient hills; and pay back the debt of the civilized world to reviving, regenerated Greece. So shall the blessing of those ready to perish come

upon thee, and ages after the vulgar train of conquerors and princes is forgotten, thou shalt be remembered, as the youthful Restorer of Greece.' " — pp. 25 — 27.

We fully sympathize with Mr. Everett in his views of the progress of society. The subject is one of deep and overwhelming interest, and it is one which has scarcely yet received the attention it deserves. We have a few words to say on this head, the purport of which will be to present in as strong a light as possible, the evidence of a progressive tendency in society, and to show that this tendency is in its nature illimitable.

It has been often and anxiously asked, whether the world is on the whole improving, whether mankind are actually advancing in civilization, or only fluctuating between definite bounds of light and darkness, — whether the face of society, like the surface of the earth, is destined to exhibit, through the whole course of time, nothing but a succession of day and night, or whether, like the face of the waxing moon, it is to be marked with a constantly increasing lustre, until the whole extent is completely enlightened. And if we adopt the latter faith, from what indications in the history of the past or the passing, do we infer this progressive destination? A celebrated philosopher of modern times endeavoured to solve this question in favor of humanity by a very ingenious interpretation of a popular sentiment which prevailed in his day.* The universal interest which the nations of Europe manifested in the issue of the French Revolution, might, he maintained, be justly considered as the evidence of a disinterested love of justice and liberty, as a pure zeal for the true and the good, as the expression of a genuine interest in the cause of humanity. If mankind, he argued, are, at any one time, capable of this sentiment, — if, without concert or agreement, it is sounded forth, at the same time, with one voice, from all quarters of the civilized globe, it must be an element in human nature; if it is an element in human nature, it is the pledge of a capacity for improvement, which was not implanted for nothing, — which must have its end and

* See Kant's *Vermischte Schriften*, Vol. III. *Erneuerte Frage: Ob das Menschengeschlecht im beständigen Fortschreiten zum Bessern sey.*

object, which must, in short, be regarded as the promise of an indefinite progress in knowledge and happiness. If we were asked to select from among the examples and events of our own times, a similar token and a like promise, we should point to the interest which is now manifested in the cause of popular education, we should point to the Lyceums and other popular institutions of the day, as the surest pledge which the times afford of the progress of society. We should fix upon these institutions, not for the effects they have already produced, or are likely to produce, — not because we believe they are to do much for the advancement of mankind. If any institution could be judged by its effects alone, this test would not be applicable to such as are but of yesterday, and whose very existence is as yet a doubtful experiment. No, we should select these institutions, not as a sure foundation of social improvement, but as the sure expression of a very important sentiment. That sentiment is respect for knowledge. The distinctness and publicity, with which it is expressed, proves its popularity; and its popularity, while it furnishes a presumption that the object of the sentiment has already become an object of vigorous pursuit, may be regarded as the pledge of an onward tendency in the human mind, to which, if it be not in its nature unlimited, no earthly limit can be assigned. In an age and country in which freedom of opinion is so unbounded as it is at present with us, — where the social feeling is so strong, and the means of social influence so extensive, popular institutions are the natural expression of every sentiment which relates to the welfare of society. Every truth, in order to become a practical truth, must pass into outward manifestation, and have its standing form in the community, otherwise it remains the exclusive property of individual minds. It was necessary that the value of knowledge, the beauty of temperance, and the sacredness of charity, in order to become universally felt and acknowledged, should be expressed in public institutions. But let us not expect too much from these institutions; let us not place in them a confidence which they do not deserve, nor look to them for an efficacy which they do not possess. Let them not be regarded as so much machinery, possessing a definite power over the public mind. The human mind is not a mass of inert matter to obey implicitly any foreign impulse, or to yield passively to any system of education. Let

it be remembered that these institutions are not the *sources* but the *effects* of social improvement. They are merely expressions of the thoughts and purposes of the day, the gauge by which we determine the measure of truth already attained. The form cannot go beyond the idea which it embodies. The tree can yield no more than was implied in the seed; it can produce only according to its kind. Enough that in the fruit which it produces according to its kind, the seed is reproduced and perpetuated; enough that a careful culture may improve the color and flavor of the fruit: the limits of such improvement are given in the nature of things, — the uttermost culture cannot exceed those limits, and produce fruit of another and a nobler kind. If public institutions did not partake of the nature of an effect rather than of a cause, if they were the source and not the result of truth, the efficacy of each institution would be boundless; for truth itself is boundless, and the cause must needs be greater than the effect. In that case, the world would have been where it is now a thousand years ago. There were excellent institutions of learning in the eighth century. The Emperor Charlemagne established schools and seminaries of education throughout his dominions, on a scale as extensive, as liberal, and as wise, as any in modern times. But so far from advancing mankind at once to that degree of intelligence which should teach them so to prize the benefits of education, as never again to forfeit them, the magnificent creations of that wonderful man scarcely survived the age of their founder; they declined at his decease, and went to wreck in the hands of his followers. The world is undoubtedly advancing, and popular institutions are contributing to its advancement; but we shall err greatly, if we expect them to hasten perceptibly the tide of improvement. Society is moving onward, but with no giant strides. Truth and moral liberty, the great interests of humanity, are gaining upon the dominion of ignorance and crime; but it is as the continent gains on the barren ocean; — slowly and reluctantly the mighty element retires, — not years, but centuries, chronicle its tardy ebb; — and still, as the huge mass rolls back upon itself, groaning and heaving with all its surges, and with each repulse gathering itself up for a new rebound, it will chance that many a random billow still dashes up to the ancient flood-mark. Meanwhile, impatient of this slow retreat, we build our dykes,

and sink our piles, and push our newly-acquired territory as far as possible into the receding waters. In other words, we establish institutions to fix and perpetuate the acquisitions and improvements of our age. And we do well if we do not ascribe to these outworks a value which does not belong to them. As bulwarks and defences they are all-important, they are necessary to secure what has thus far been reclaimed, to make sure the dominion we have already gained over ignorance and error; but we look for too much, if we expect them to extend, in any great degree, the limits of that dominion.

It has been maintained by some, that the progress of society is necessarily limited; that the bounds of civilization are distinctly marked; that they have already, in several instances, been attained, or very nearly approached. This is inferred from the fact, that many individuals and states, and many departments of the human intellect, among the nations of antiquity, have attained a degree of refinement and perfection which has never been surpassed, or even equalled, in modern times; and furthermore, from the fact that all nations, after a certain degree of culture, have uniformly declined, and a savage people and a barbarous age succeeded. The supporters of this doctrine point us to the turning crises in the history of nations; they bid us mark the ebbing tide of wealth, refinement, and social improvement, and tell us that such is the destination of society to the end of time. The error which lies at the foundation of this doctrine, consists in not accurately distinguishing between the progress of society, and the advancement of a single people, or the perfection of the individual mind. There can be no doubt that individual minds and particular provinces of genius have, in repeated instances, reached the highest degree of earthly perfection, and attained to a power and glory which will never be surpassed. It is probable that single nations have advanced to the uttermost limits of national power and glory; and it is certain, that the outward aspect of society, so far from displaying a constant and uniform increase of culture and refinement, has exhibited thus far only a constant succession of light and darkness. Alternate civilization and barbarism make up the apparent history of man. Nevertheless, society, we believe, has always been moving onward. Notwithstanding the perpetual flux and reflux which appears

on the surface of things, there has been an under-current of improvement, coëxtensive with the whole course of time. There never was an age in which some element of humanity was not making progress. Even in those periods of the world, which seem darkest to the superficial historian, there has ever been some process at work, in which the best interests of mankind were involved. In the dark ages, emphatically so called, more was done for society, than during the whole period of ancient history. For, what is society? It is not a single people or generation, it is not a collection of individuals as such; but it is an intimate union of individuals, voluntarily coöperating for the common good, actuated by social feelings, governed by social principles, and urged onward by social improvements. Society, in this sense, has always been advancing, not uniformly, indeed, far from it,—sometimes the motion has not been perceptible, sometimes, it may be, there has been no motion at all,—but it has never lost ground;—whenever it has moved at all, it has moved forward. The human mind, the source of this progress, has acted like the animal heart, not by a constant effort, but by successive pulsations, which pulsations, however, unlike those of the animal heart, must be reckoned, not by seconds, but by ages. Each pulsation has sent forth into the world some new sentiment or principle, some discovery or invention, which, like small portions of leaven, have successively communicated their quickening energy to the whole mass of society. It is the first duty of the philosophic historian to trace and exhibit these successive impulses. He who can do this, and he only, will be able to furnish a systematic history of Man; something very different from, and infinitely more important than the histories we now have of dynasties and tribes.

Taking this view of society, the first thing which strikes us is the fact, that the *social feeling*, in its proper sense,—by which we mean, not that sentiment which binds us to our kindred and friends, nor that which compels us, as weak and dependent beings, to seek protection from our kind, but that which connects us with our fellow-men, as beings to whom we are intimately related, as beings between whom and us God has established a sacred and indissoluble bond,—is a principle of comparatively recent date. In the early ages of the world, it was scarcely known. It is an element intro-

duced by Christianity; and it is this which marks the grand distinction between ancient and modern times, and gives to the latter their preëminent importance, as it respects the best interests of mankind. We shall illustrate this position by comparing the most brilliant era of antiquity with the darkest period in the history of Christian nations. Take that portion of Grecian history which is comprised between the Persian and the Macedonian wars, between the battles of Plataea and Chæronea. What life, what energy, what glory, was there! In every walk of life, what lofty models of individual greatness! In every department of intellectual exertion, what miracles of genius! To that period and to that people belong the most perfect and enduring creations of the human mind. What philosopher since then has matched the wisdom of Socrates, or reached the sublimity of Plato? What statesman, in any succeeding age, has ruled like Pericles? What orator spoken like *him* of Athens? What sculptor or architect of modern times, ever thinks of surpassing, or even hopes to equal, the wonders of Grecian art? Yet, if we view those times more narrowly, and in the spirit of that philosophy which watches the progress of humanity, rather than the achievements of genius and the triumphs of nations, what do we find there that concerns man as a social being, and applies to him as such, in every age. Almost nothing. Every thing was individual or national; nothing universal. Every thing was done that could be done for philosophy, the arts, and the nation, but hardly any thing for man. Society made but little progress. The true notion of society does not even appear to have been recognised in that age. The single fact, that merchants were excluded from the "Republic" of Plato, speaks volumes on this subject. There was nothing like social union, no hearty coöperation of individuals or states, to promote a common object. Of the two states best known to us, the one was a military school, the other an unmanageable democracy. The confederacy of the independent powers seems at first to exhibit something like a manifestation of the social principle; but this was a forced coalition, growing out of the necessity of the times, rather than a friendly association. A common danger had united the inferior states under Athens, during the Persian wars, and after that they remained frozen together, by the mere want of sufficient vitality and energy to separate, rather than cement.

ed by any elective affinity. So that the very idea of Greece, as a single nation, in the comprehensiveness with which we now apply the term, was a conception of after times, unknown to the Greeks themselves. The feeling of a common country never pervaded the several states with sufficient force to effect a perfect union. We may almost say it was never elicited except at intervals of four years on the consecrated plains of Elis. There, within the hallowed precincts of Olympia, in the presence of the thousand statues and national temples which the hands of his own countrymen had reared and carved, the son of Hellas might well feel the stirring of a nobler sentiment than the narrow prejudice which bound him to the walls of his native city. There he might learn to glory in the name and honors of a Grecian. "He could return from the Olympian games and say, with truth, that he had seen the noblest objects which the earth contained, and that these were not the works of foreigners, but the creation and property of his own people." *

It is customary to speak in exalted terms of the agency which Greece has had in the civilization of mankind; and so far as the culture of genius and taste conduces to civilization, the eulogy is just. We are indebted to that people for the noblest monuments of human art. From them we have derived those imperishable models, to which the judgment of ages has given the praise of perfection. It is the glory of modern art to copy their exquisite proportions, and the highest ambition of modern taste to exhibit their likeness in our halls and the streets of our cities. From them we have derived those forms of beauty which exalt the beholder above the low necessities of earth, and stir the soul as with breathings from a purer world, teaching it to commune with that ideal fair and good, which, even in Phidias's hands, the unfeeling marble could but faintly express. We have the "Laocoon's torture, dignifying pain"; we have,

"The lord of the unerring bow,
The god of life and poesy and light," —

— "All that ideal beauty ever blessed
The mind with, in its most unearthly mood,
When each conception was a heavenly guest,
A ray of immortality, and stood
Starlike around, until they gathered to a god!"

* Heeren's Greece.

We have from them the noblest inspirations of poetry, and we have, what is more precious than all these, the examples of wise and good men, which teach us, better than all homilies, what is excellent and holy in human actions, which show us how poor a thing the glory of this world is in comparison with the privilege of virtue, and how much better it is to die the death of the brave in a good cause, than to purchase a coward's life at the expense of conscience and truth. But when we ask what Greece has contributed to the cause of *mankind*, what she has done to strengthen the ties which bind man to man, we look in vain for a similar harvest. The council of Amphictyon furnished a few principles of international policy, and the earliest example of a representative congress. The Isthmian and Pythian games, first awakened the sentiment of national competition,—a good principle, when rightly directed. The history of Athens presents the first imperfect model of a popular government. The invention of letters, a real and lasting benefit to society, was a thing of older date. And, when we have mentioned these things, we have almost exhausted that department in the storehouse of antiquity. For, when we come to Rome, “the battlefield of time,” and “the charnel-house of nations,” as it has been called, what is there, if we except those principles of civil law, which, in a subsequent age were collected and reduced to a system,—if we except these, what is there that Rome has done for man. Add to the legacies of these two nations, a few relics from the wreck of Carthage, and a few, comparatively unimportant, discoveries and inventions, scattered up and down through the whole four thousand years,—and what else is there in the old world whereby mankind have been permanently profited.

But now pass to a darker spot in the retrospect of nations. Let the central and northern parts of Europe be the scene, and the thousand years, which preceded the Reformation, the time of action. A new agent has now been introduced into the affairs of men,—a religion, suited to the social and progressive nature of man,—a religion adapted to men in every age, and in every quarter of the globe, and therefore destined to become a universal religion, a bond of union between all climes and nations, a principle embracing the whole world, and reducing mankind to one family. What promise was here! In this principle we have the

beginning of a new era in the history of man. It is impossible to estimate too highly the benefits we owe to Christianity, considered merely as an element of civilization. Our most valuable institutions, all whereby the work of improvement has been speeded, and the results of improvement secured, have originated under Christian influences. It is true, the religion did not fulfill at once the promise implied in its first appearance; nor was this to be expected, for it is a law of the universe, that every thing, which is destined to have permanent value, shall be progressive in its developement. The first harvest of the world had arrived,—it was necessary that the seed of civilization, contained in that harvest, should die, before it could be quickened into new life, under the fostering influences of the new religion. Hence the gloom and barbarism of the middle ages. But in the midst of that gloom, in the secret bosom of society, the seed was ripening for a better harvest. Amid all the din of Gothic devastation, and the strife of church and chivalry, the “still, sad music of humanity” was heard, pleading the cause of justice and truth. Nor did it plead in vain. Silently and slowly a process was going on by which mankind were to be raised at last from ignorance and corruption to the light and liberty of these later times.

We have spoken of that era as having contributed more to the advancement of society, than the whole period of ancient history. In support of this assertion, we need only remind our readers, how suddenly, how almost immediately after the Reformation, society advanced to a state of civilization unknown in any former age. For civilization is not to be measured by the progress of individual minds, but by the degree of comfort and the extent of cultivation which exist among the people at large. This advancement could not have taken place had the preceding age been an age of inaction. If this fact is not sufficient, it would be easy to specify particular circumstances, discoveries, and principles in the history of those times, which exerted an influence, and many of which could not but exert, and must always exert, a very powerful influence on the welfare of society. Some things, which seemed unfavorable at first, proved beneficial in the end. The irruption of the barbarous tribes, served to supplant an enfeebled generation by the introduction of another and hardier race. Physical strength and

animal vigor triumphed over effeminacy, and thus a healthier stock was furnished whereupon to graft whatever was valuable in the institutions and discoveries of the old world. The crusades made the various parts of Christendom acquainted with each other, and taught Europe to know herself, and the limits of her power. The institutions of chivalry, though their merit, in this respect, has been overrated, certainly did much to elevate woman to the just rank, which she now holds in society. The monastic establishments rendered an invaluable service to the cause of letters, by preserving whatever was precious in ancient literature. Christianity, it is true, had degenerated into a cumbrous system of rites and ceremonies, scarcely less burdensome than the Mosaic law. Yet even these corruptions were but the outward covering which was absolutely necessary to secure the living principle within from inevitable destruction at a time when its spiritual worth could not be felt or understood. The religion had but entered into its chrysalis, to prepare for a new and glorious liberty. And Christianity, even in her corruptions, was never false to humanity. Even then she distributed her charities without stint to the poor, the sick, and the ignorant. Even then hospitals and schools and liberal alms distinguished Christendom from the rest of the world. But why speak of doubtful things? Is it not notorious that the period which we are defending gave to the world the most important instruments of civilization which it has received from any age? We need mention only the art of printing, which gives form and perpetuity to thought, and brings distant ages and climes into intimate connexion. We need mention only the magnetic needle, which has brought the ends of the earth together, — the discovery of a new continent, which has furnished a new school for man, — and last, not least, that grandest of all discoveries, which opened the way for civil and religious liberty, the right of private judgment, and the paramount authority of every man's own conscience as a rule of action. These are the things which make society what it is, — these are the gifts of the Middle Ages. What other age has given so freely and so well? We are yet living on the products of those times, and long will it be before we have exhausted the resources which they have provided.

It is not necessary to our present purpose to trace any immediate connexion between these improvements and the

Christian religion. The fact that they have originated under Christian influences speaks for itself and it speaks loudly, — it shows us not that they could not have sprung to life without the aid of the new religion, but that the religion was necessary to prepare for their reception, and to make them as profitable as they have been to man. They could not have been thus profitable unless a better foundation for social improvement had been furnished, than any which existed in the old world. That foundation is given in Christianity, — it is Christian *liberty*, and Christian *charity*. In truth, the very idea of society as a conscious union of individuals, and not a mere juxtaposition of individuals, was first generated under Christianity ; — and, until this idea had been brought into being and into vigorous action, no permanent improvement in the condition of man was possible. If then we distinguish between society in general, and a single people, between the progress of man and the progress of a nation, the history of Christianity will henceforth always be the history of *man*, for it is only in Christian nations, and by Christianity, that man, as the subject of history, exists. And, to bring the discussion back to the point from which it started, since the progress of man is no other than the progress of Christianity, in other words, the progress of truth, and since truth is boundless, it follows that the progress of man must be boundless also, an interminable course of improvement, an advancement, without end, in knowledge, civilization, and happiness. It is the privilege and the duty of each generation to contribute something toward this advancement. Wo to the generation which obstructs it !

We have spoken of the bearing which popular institutions have on the progress of man. We have considered them as expressions of certain ideas or sentiments which happen to prevail at a particular time, as landmarks by which to measure the wisdom and virtue of the age. Now it is the fate of almost every institution to survive the idea which it embodies, or rather, it is the nature of an idea to outgrow the institution which it has created. Hence no institution can at any time be fully adequate to the wants and the growth of the mind. This fact should never be forgotten. In view of it, society should, as far as possible, prevent its institutions from becoming stationary. Room should be allowed for increase, for improvement, for the expression of

more enlarged and liberal views. Otherwise the progress of a community is retarded by the very means which it employs to aid its advancement. One of the most expressive of modern institutions, — the most indicative, that is, of a desire to improve, is the Lyceum. The sentiment which this institution expresses is respect for knowledge, but it is a kind of respect by no means adequate to its object at this late day. It is a respect for the results of knowledge rather than for knowledge itself. It is the applicability to the practical purposes of life, rather than the inherent, essential worth, which our people prize. Practical utility is, doubtless, an important consideration; but, if mankind had never soared beyond the idea of practical utility, no science would ever have advanced beyond its first rudiments, and, consequently, the world would never have been blessed with those results which we prize so highly. It is with knowledge somewhat as it is with virtue. It is not sufficient to regard it as a means. They only, who love it for its own sake, will ever have the patience to pursue it, or the wit to win it. There is a tradition or fable concerning Archimedes, the philosopher of Syracuse, so applicable to this subject that we shall ask no apology for introducing it. The services which this distinguished mathematician was enabled to render to his native city, by means of his scientific discoveries, — how he burned the enemy's ships with his metallic reflectors and hooked them into the air by means of his levers, — are matters of common notoriety. It was after some feats of this kind, that a young man, fired with the ambition of distinguishing himself by similar achievements, came to Archimedes and begged to be instructed in "that divine art which had yielded such glorious fruits to their beloved country." "Divine, do you call it?" said Archimedes; "yes, it is divine, but so it was, young man, before it had benefited the state. If you seek knowledge, it is well; but, if you are thinking only of the fruits, you had better have stayed at home. He who would woo the goddess, must forget the woman." *

We do well to look for results; but we must remember that there are some results which the eye cannot see or the hand touch. There are some profits of industry which are not to

* See a poem of Schiller, entitled "Archimedes und der Schüler."

be measured by any human gauge, nor valued by any earthly coin. We must encourage and reward every department of intellectual exertion, we must honor every species of enquiry, we must tolerate the student's solitary musing, his bookishness and his pedantry too, if need be, or we can never expect any results beyond those which we now possess, and must look for no further improvement in the condition of mankind. The only practical agent in the world is the *mind*; and unless we allow the mind to pursue its course, when, where, and how it will, we shall have no practical agent at all. What could seem more useless to the people of that age, than the inquiries of Columbus respecting the shape of our globe. Whether the earth was flat or round, seemed to them a very idle speculation. Yet it was that idle speculation, which gave the American continent to civilized man. So true it is, that there is no speculation, in which the mind can engage, provided it be philosophically pursued, but must ultimately lead to the discovery of truth, and bear, remotely or immediately, on the common concerns of life. The utilitarian prejudices of the day have been levelled with special rancor against the higher departments of mental philosophy. It is thought that these studies have a tendency to unfit men for the business of life. Pericles, the Athenian statesman, thought otherwise. He was no dreamer, but he resorted to the school of Anaxagoras. There he acquired his knowledge of man, there formed his principles of action, and, if we may trust his biographer, owed much of what he was and did to the instructions of that philosopher. Lord Bacon has strikingly illustrated this point by another example, that of Xenophon, a young student of philosophy, who, coming fresh from the school of Socrates, and having never before mingled with the world; was yet able, after the death of Cyrus, whom he had followed to the wars, to guide the army of that general in safety through the very heart of a hostile country, from Babylon to Greece.* To question the utility of mental philosophy, because we cannot always discern its immediate bearing on the great interests of society, is like questioning the utility of the blood in the human system, because we cannot see how it helps to raise the arm or move the foot. What the blood is to the human system, philosophy is to the social system; — just as vital, just as essential. It is only because its operation is

* See Coleridge's "Friend."

not visible, that its efficacy is ever questioned. It was a saying of Mr. Hume, that we can hardly expect a piece of woollen cloth to be wrought to perfection, where the science of ethics is neglected; and though, at first view, there appears to be no connexion between ethics and manufactures, it would not be difficult to show, that this remark was founded on just observation and correct reasoning. We do well to insist on utility; but utility has a wide range; it embraces, not only every thing that relates to the welfare of the body, but every thing that tends to refine and exalt the soul. The Author of our intellectual natures never intended that knowledge should always creep along the earth. He hath given her an infinite aim and a boundless privilege. It is her high calling to search where the planets wander, and to thread the mazes of the mind. At one time, she numbers the tribes of earth and sea, and, at another, she computes the stars of the firmament, and measures their courses through the skies. Now her footsteps are among the paths of men, and now she treads "that path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen." Now she calls upon the caverns of the deep and the lowest parts of the earth to reveal their secrets, and now she unspheres

"The spirit of Plato, to unfold
What worlds or what vast regions hold
The immortal mind, that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook."

It is her sacred office and her first duty, to scatter the rudiments of useful instruction among the obscure villages and humble dwellings of the poor; but it is no less her duty to inform, with higher revelations, the hungering and thirsting soul, that hath left all and followed her.

Our remarks thus far have had reference to the intellectual rather than the moral advancement of mankind. We intended to say something on this latter topic also; but we have already occupied an unreasonable space, and must hasten to our conclusion.

It is common in this country to connect the hope of man's advancement with the destinies of our own land. Nor is this connexion wholly without foundation. So far as outward circumstances are concerned, the prospect of social improvement is certainly brighter with us than in any other portion of the globe. Where *can* man advance if not in a

country where all the elements of civilization abound? But is there no danger of carrying this notion too far? Our political destinies are written in the very features of the soil we inhabit. Its lakes, its rivers, its rich mines, its fertile valleys, utter but one prophecy. It is impossible to misinterpret such signs as these. They promise,—so long as peace shall unite these realms,—a perpetual increase of prosperity and glory. But what augury shall insure an equal increase of intellectual prosperity and moral glory? Shall we infer it from the institutions of this age? Alas! they are not, like the physical features of our country, fixed and permanent tokens. They are the creations of the day, they can vouch only for the passing generation. Not to these, but to the principles which they represent, let us look for salvation. Let these be our pledge for the fulfilment of all that the imagination has ever pictured of the destination of man. The institutions of this country have sometimes been represented as an experiment, on the issue of which the cause of universal improvement, and all the best interests of humanity, in some measure depend. If these fail, it is said, then farewell all farther hope of liberty and social progress. We love not to believe that a stake so precious is pending on a cast so doubtful. These institutions may fail, they certainly will fail, whenever, in the course of our advancement, they shall cease to be faithful expressions of the wisdom and the power of the age. Like seared foliage, at the touch of Autumn, they will wither and drop whenever their brief destination is fulfilled. It may be they are destined to a less timely end. The tempest may pluck them now in all their prime,

“And, with forced fingers, rude,
Shatter their leaves before the mellowing year.”

But let us not, therefore, for a moment, cease to believe in the practicability of that which these institutions were designed to realize. Let us rest our hope of liberty and social improvement on something more decisive than the issue of a single experiment, or the fate of a single people. Let our trust have a surer foundation than the land of Washington, though there be a spell in that name above all earthly names; let it have a pledge more infallible than the seed of the pilgrims, though there be a virtue in that race which the world

cannot match. Let us ground it on universal Man, on the might of the human will, and on the boundless resources of the human mind.

ART. II. — *Quakerism not Christianity: or Reasons for renouncing the Doctrine of Friends*. In Three Parts. By SAMUEL HANSON COX, D. D., Pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church; and for Twenty Years a Member of the Society of Friends. New York and Boston. 1833.

THIS is an octavo volume of some seven hundred pages. The title sufficiently indicates the general purpose of the work. Of its character and tenor no one could derive any adequate notion but from the book itself. It passes the reviewer's art. It cannot be analyzed, it cannot be described. There is nothing in the whole compass of literature to which it can be likened. To give an extract as a specimen would be like giving a monosyllable to convey an idea of a copious language, or a little arc of a circle as a sample of the Egyptian Labyrinth. We cannot criticize the book in detail, for this article must have an end. We cannot praise it, for we do not approve it. We cannot denounce it altogether and there stop, for that would not be generous or fair. We cannot ridicule it, for the subject is serious, though the author's treatment of it is not always so. And yet we cannot let it wholly alone, for it is a literary curiosity and a theological phenomenon. It is a most illustrious exhibition of flaming zeal and uncompromising intolerance. It is a work that stands preëminent and unapproached among the multitudes of the same class that have appeared in all ages of the church, and we would therefore make it an occasion for some remarks upon the false principle in which such books originate and from which they take their tone.

We would first endeavour, however, to give our readers some faint conception of the character of the book before us. The author was born a member of the Society of Friends, and was educated by excellent parents in its principles. Early in youth, he became dissatisfied with the Society, and at the age of twenty he, with a praiseworthy in-

dependence and honesty, defied and surmounted all obstacles, and denied the doctrines which he could not believe, and left the community with which he could not sympathize. He joined the Presbyterian Church, and in due time became a minister of that denomination in the city of New York. His mind is a powerful, copious, and imaginative one, but remarkably desultory, erratic, and unbridled. He confessedly scorns and sets at naught the common rules of style and taste, both in the construction of an individual sentence and a great book. He has a very ardent temperament, and writes with his mind constantly upon the stretch and in a continual glow. He manifests, and indeed professes, the greatest conceivable abhorrence and contempt, hatred and indignation towards Quakerism; and never did man take less care to restrain these uncomfortable feelings. He is perfectly certain that Quakerism, as to its peculiarities, is the greatest of abominations, false, absurd, and altogether the very opposite of Christianity. No honest and enlightened mind could possibly embrace it. And it is withal a fatal, soul-destroying system. Salvation under its guidance seems to be entirely out of the question. It is nearly as bad, in our author's opinion, as Unitarianism or infidelity or any similar device of Satan. He can hold no terms with it. It must be put down, it must be exterminated. And it is his vocation to aid in this holy work. He assails it with all weapons, with argument and criticism, with ridicule and sarcasm, with jests and with texts, with compassion and with revilings, with prayers and threats, in Latin and Greek, in poetry and prose, in the persons of Fox and Penn, Barclay and Hicks and Sarah Grubb. He is a wholesale denouncer, a splendid and most grandiloquent anathematizer and vituperator. His book is an ocean, nay an absolute infinity, of abuse of all sorts. We assure the reader, that if he has not seen this book, he has no conception, how many words there are in the dictionary, and elsewhere, and nowhere else, that can be brought to bear against a hated system; or by what an infinite series of permutations and combinations those words can be made to browbeat and anathematize a proscribed and devoted sect. It is due, however, to our author to record his solemn protest, that he is "conscious only of benevolence to their true temporal and eternal interests in all that he thinks, writes, or speaks concerning their erroneous scheme." It is the system

that he hates. "I do certainly hate it;" he says, "by all the hope of heaven that I cherish consciously in Christ Jesus at this moment, I abhor it; by all the love I bear to the souls of men, my own and others, I abhor it; by all the sense I have of what Christianity is, and what the Scriptures mean, and what men infinitely need in order to salvation, I renounce and execrate it; and make it a part of my piety to detest it, as a composition of spiritual sorcery, presuming ignorance, and deceitful dogmatism, offensive to Heaven and deleterious to the noblest hopes of men in 'the life that now is, and also that which is to come'; — and I qualify the written solemnity *only* by remarking, that it is wholly and only against the system, and not at all against individuals, that it aims the honest and hearty declaration. I have no wish to 'snatch from His hand the balance or the rod,' who decides on persons according to the truth; can be deceived by no specious counterfeits; has himself anathemized 'an angel from heaven' who should vend 'another gospel' or vitiate the true; and who has of right and of power the independent sway of destinies, both mine and theirs. Amen. Alleluia."

This he regards as perfectly consistent with genuine charity, yet he goes on to say; "That there is *criminality* in all religious error, misanthropy as well as impiety, and essential sin in cherishing it, is plain to any honest reader of the word of God, or any common thinker on the nature of its contents." And while, therefore, he regards the Friends as sunk into the lowest and darkest abyss of such *criminal* error, and while he calls their system a "pestilent limb of Antichrist," "covert Popery," "impalpable fanaticism, sustained by ingenious toils of devout sophistry and specious lying," and stigmatizes their best men and greatest lights as "lustrous sons of moonshine," "inspired blunderers bronzed in holy impudence," and the Quakers themselves as "mainly, I fear, a community of infidels," — while he thus speaks of Friends and their system, through seven hundred pages, and in language to which these clauses are, comparatively speaking, as "honey in the honeycomb," we must suppose that his charity, however real and sincere, and however comforting and satisfactory a sentiment it may be to his own bosom, will hardly seem very gracious and heavenly to the party assailed and denounced; yet for ourselves we do believe, that there is a sort of sincerity, nay a real sincerity in his professions of charity and love towards

those whom he abuses in this coarse language. We do not, after all, discover that Jesuitism and selfishness and cold malignity, that often pervade volumes of softer words. The very excess of the abuse manifests openness of soul and honesty of purpose. We believe we should hardly take offence if this same tremendous cannonade were levelled against ourselves and our faith. We are sure we could receive this whole outpouring with composure, and we doubt not that the Friends, proverbially meek, will so receive it. The utter recklessness of the assailant must preclude resentment. Still we should lament the perversion of so fine a mind, and the fieriness of so ingenuous a temper. And we should and do lament, most of all, the prevalence of the bad *principle* which leads to, and seems to justify, such attacks, and keeps alive the spirit which they ymanifest. It is this ; that *uniformity of belief*, a oneness in speculative faith, is the only ground on which Christians can be one in brotherly fellowship and in the bond of peace.

We begin therefore with a direct denial of this principle as unsound, unevangelical, and pernicious. Uniformity of speculative opinion ought not to be regarded as the bond of union and the ground of fellowship among Christians ; and men by their speculative differences do not violate the essential oneness of Christianity.

Jesus Christ could not have required or expected unity of speculative opinion with regard to his revelation, for the good and sufficient reason that there cannot be any such unity. The history of opinions and the history of human nature, from the earliest times to the latest, prove that there cannot be any thing like uniformity of opinion on subjects that admit in any degree of the exercise of reason. Such differences began under the ministry of the Apostles themselves. They sprang up immediately, in the very churches of their own planting. They have continued ever since, varying continually as to the subjects and modes of difference, yet always differences. Never for a moment have Christians agreed as to what are the true and only speculative doctrines of their religion. Every method that has ever been projected of reconciling such differences, has long ago proved itself chimerical, absurd, and impracticable. Every experiment, that has ever been made to produce uniformity, has aggravated the supposed evil, warred against human nature and human liberty, done great mischief, and turned out a miserable failure.

The attempt to produce uniformity of belief has been made in every age, in every form, and by every imaginable means, and all have failed. The church of Rome tried it. They set up a standard of belief, the scholars of Christendom maintained it, the collective wisdom and imposing authority of famous Councils sanctioned it, the successors of St. Peter were set for its defence, the arm of physical power was stretched out in its behalf, and the terrors of earthly and eternal torment were made to beset every by-path of heresy and schism; but it was a failure. The early Protestants tried it. Scarcely had they broken out of the fold of Rome, when they began their measures for uniformity. Synods were convened, and decrees and confessions were published from various quarters, with revilings and persecutions more abundant; but it was a failure. Luther and his coadjutors tried it, and failed. Calvin and his disciples tried it, and failed. The church of England tried it, and failed. Every act of intolerance seemed to give birth to new heresies, and every blow that was struck for uniformity opened new seams in the church and broke off more fragments from the mass. The creeds of modern sects, set up with the same view to uniformity, are failures. The manifold exhibitions of intolerance in our own day, and all around us, are indications of the same vain hankering and struggling after uniformity, and they all fail. There is no such thing as uniformity. There is no approach to it. We differ about different things, it is true; but we differ as really and as much, as did our predecessors in any age of the church. Time raises new questions as fast as it settles old ones. The history of the past, and a glance at the present state of things, show it to be the most visionary of all vain imaginations to suppose, that there can ever be, while the Bible and human nature continue to be what they are, that there can ever be a Church Universal, whose bond of union and fellowship shall be a speculative uniformity of belief.

From these considerations we must infer, what we began by saying, that Jesus himself did not require or expect a speculative uniformity amongst his followers. Had he only possessed the sagacity of a worldly-wise man, he must have foreseen that such agreement would be utterly impracticable. And surely the infallible teacher from God, whose title was the Prince of Peace, and who taught that love was the keep-

ing of his commandments, such an one cannot for a moment be supposed to have made the keeping of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, to consist in a kind of uniformity, the impossibility of which would be proved as soon as he had left the world, and be confirmed stronger and stronger in every succeeding period of his church. He could not have meant to establish a principle, which, the moment it was adopted and acted upon, would prove itself to be irreconcilably at variance with the first principles of his religion, those of brotherly love and union. There are and always have been differences of opinion, honest and rational differences, between persons having on other subjects equal pretensions to the credit of intelligence and fairness of mind, differences among those who recognise the same inspired teacher, and have before them the same sacred and undisputed records. And men, if they think and reason at all for themselves, and if they are to have any real belief, cannot help thus speculatively differing; and it is a stigma upon the Son of God to say, that he has forbidden such differences either positively or virtually, that he has given to every sincere believer the right to suppose that he and his sect have alone the mind of Christ and are true to his religion, and the consequent right to disown, excommunicate, and cast out as evil, all who differ from such sect. They who hold that Christ demands uniformity of speculative opinion, must of course regard their own opinions as the standard of that uniformity, and they must in consistency suppose that they are authorized by God to hold every dissenter from that standard as an infidel, an alien, and an outlaw. And those dissenters, and every petty portion of them, and every individual of them, have the same counter authority with respect to their opponents. And thus Jesus himself is made to forbid, absolutely to forbid, all brotherhood and fellowship amongst his disciples, to cast an unquenchable firebrand in the midst of them, and to justify and sanction a spirit of exterminating and eternal war amongst them. But this cannot be so. This cannot be the divine purpose. Speculative uniformity cannot be the requisite bond of unity among the disciples of Christ. And, though there were as many differing sects in Christendom as there are individuals, this circumstance would not impair the true grounds of their unity one whit.

After taking this position, it is incumbent on us to state what we do regard as constituting the essential oneness of Christianity. What is the broad ground on which those who stand are really one and should regard themselves as one in Christ, having no reason for jealousy or distrust, having no right of mutual recrimination and denunciation, no good plea for contentious division? What is the standard, around which all who rally are one in the sight of God and Christ, one upon the principles of the gospel, and might and should be one in mutual sympathy and fellowship, owning one another, and rejoicing together in a common faith and hope? We answer, it is what all serious believers in Christ as the son and messenger of God, propose, desire, and are satisfied with, as the result of Christian faith. It is the keeping of the commandments of Christ. It is piety and moral goodness, it is the cultivation and exercise of Christian affections and Christian principles. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself to him." "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his," and if he have the spirit of Christ he is his. This is the ground of unity which we think our Master has marked out. This we all understand and understand alike. There is no dispute about what is the spirit of Christ. We all learn it, and learn it alike, from himself, from his words and his history, from his example of piety and obedience to God. The result is the same (wherever it exists), whether accompanied by one set of speculative opinions or another. About the religious affections and the religious character, considered in themselves and purely as a result, there can hardly be any misunderstanding. It is Character that constitutes the one Christianity.

But it may be objected that, though the moral result be the great thing about which the individual should be concerned, yet that is not a proper or convenient or practicable *test*, by which men should judge of each other's claims to Christian fellowship; that such a test is too judicial in its nature, that it would require too much of a system of moral *espionage* and investigation, too much judging of the brethren. We will admit the objection and yield to it. Let it be that a profession, either express or virtual, of some doctrines, together with a decent outward show of Christian virtue, is

the most suitable test, the only practicable one, the true ground of visible fellowship and union. Let it be that we are to take cognizance of the doctrines of an individual or sect, and adjudge or withhold the Christian name accordingly. Let it be that this is the gospel test. We have yet something to say, why we still decline taking the popular ground, the battle ground of speculative uniformity.

We would maintain that the doctrines, the leading and fundamental doctrines of the gospel immediately concern and directly relate to the moral character, to the practical part, the affections of the heart and the conduct of life. The truths of the gospel are moral, and not speculative truths. The doctrines of our religion are chiefly moral.

One eminent exception, however, demands notice in the outset, viz. The great introductory doctrine of the gospel, it is true, is not strictly of this moral class, though it was a necessary introduction to a system of moral truths. It is a speculative doctrine, we mean the doctrine that "Jesus is the Christ," that he was an inspired and commissioned messenger from God to man. Jesus himself constantly set forth this as the primary speculative truth. He is constantly arguing it and insisting upon it. He made his miracles bear towards the proving it and the bringing it home to the convictions of men. He generally uses the word Faith in reference to this single truth. In the few instances in which he applies it differently, it means confidence in the providence and promises of God. The Apostles, in their subsequent preaching and writing, took the same course. When by the preaching of Peter three thousand were converted on the day of Pentecost, the only speculative doctrine proposed, the only one addressed merely to the understanding, was this same truth, thus summed up in his own words: "Therefore let all the house of Israel assuredly know that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." When, afterwards, by the preaching of the same Apostle five thousand believed, the only speculative article recorded in his sermon, was the same, — that God had raised up his son Jesus, and sent him and glorified him. When Philip discoursed with the Eunuch, and converted and baptized him, the only speculative doctrine was this, "I believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God." In what did the conversion of Paul consist but in the conviction, produced by the miraculous vision on the

way to Damascus, that Jesus was from heaven and was in heaven, was the Christ? as we are told, that, as soon as he recovered his sight, he "straightway preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God." And so on throughout the numerous instances of Apostolic preaching and success recorded in the Book of the Acts, this great article of speculative faith stands conspicuous and alone;—alone, if we make this one other exception, that in some cases the undisputed Christian doctrine of a future life, of "the resurrection of the dead," (either of the body, as Dr. Cox insists, or of the spirit only, as the Friends will have it) is brought forward.

Now we mean not to say, that there are no other speculative doctrines revealed in the New Testament. On the contrary, we and all Christians do believe some others; though from our different modes of interpreting language and weighing evidence we differ somewhat as to what those doctrines are. But we do mean to say that, after the exceptions of speculative truth just considered, which all Christians believe equally and alike, moral truth and moral teaching hold the highest and the largest place in the gospel.

By moral, as distinguished from speculative truth, is meant that which not merely demands the assent and reception of the understanding (which is all that speculative truth requires), but which, while it convinces the understanding, goes directly and of its own nature to the springs of action, and demands a direct influence upon the moral state of the soul and the conduct of life. We must not understand the word *moral* as opposed to the word *religious*; for the former in its highest sense includes the latter. Moral truth means all the truth that pertains directly to the best guidance, the purifying and adorning, the elevation and blessedness of the soul, both as to its inward state and its outward action. And such truth, we repeat, is the great burden of gospel teaching. Speculative systems may with propriety be deduced from the New Testament; but a moral system, moral truth, may also be deduced with a clearer light, with a more unquestionable authority, with a more important bearing and purpose, with a fuller testimony and a more earnest solicitation from Jesus and his Apostles. And next after the admission of the divine authority of Christ the teacher, such a system of truth ought to stand foremost in our regards. It ought to be considered as *the* truth, the *leading* truth, the *great* doctrines,

the fundamentals, to be believed with the heart unto righteousness. But let us illustrate.

The doctrine of man's moral accountableness to God, who will judge him with a righteous retribution for his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil. This is a moral truth of the Gospel. It aims directly at the conscience. According to the strength and vividness of man's belief of it, it goes at once, fraught with mighty motives and the solemnities of judgment, to the heart, and lays hold of the moral sentiments and moral capacities, and demands holiness, — holiness to the Lord. This doctrine is abundantly unfolded, illustrated, and urged in the gospel. It is constantly on the lips of Jesus. In some of its branches it is scarcely ever absent from his mind. It runs through, nay it constitutes in letter and in spirit, the Sermon on the Mount. It gives the meaning and point to many of the striking parables which make up so valuable a part of gospel teaching. The parable of the Talents, of the Vineyard, of the Rich Man and Lazarus, of the Ten Virgins, and several others, set forth this moral truth. And we know of no denomination of Christians amongst us, that do not profess to receive this doctrine, and that do not in their own way exhibit and urge it. In some cases, to be sure, we think it is done imperfectly, yet it is done in the way which they think right and most forcible. And as well might the lips of the infant Jesus have been sealed in the manger of Bethlehem, as well might the Scriptures have been irrecoverably lost in the night of the dark ages, as this doctrine be denied or disparaged. Man is accountable to his Maker for the good and evil of his heart and life. This is the truth of Christ. It is responded to by the human heart. It is spoken from the heavens. It is answered and echoed from all souls in all Christian lands. It is a Christian *doctrine*, and what merely speculative and disputed doctrine shall we for a moment couple with it in grandeur and importance?

Again, the kindred doctrine of repentance and forgiveness is a moral truth of the gospel, a leading truth. The gospel is one loud and continuous call to repentance, accompanied by a constant assurance of God's forgiving mercy. The forerunner John introduced the new dispensation by the preaching and the baptism of repentance. "Repent, repent," was the salutation of Jesus to the haughty and hardened Pharisee, to the profligate and contemptuous Sadducee,

and to the humble Publican. His ministry was to an erring and lost world, and the ardent desire continually burned in his bosom, that they should repent and turn to God, and be saved and blest. The doctrine of repentance was embodied in the brief form of prayer which he gave to his disciples. It inspired the touching parable of the Prodigal Son, and that of the Figtree that bore no fruit and cumbered the ground. It breathed in his prayer as he wept over the coming calamities of the devoted yet beloved Jerusalem. The preaching of it to all people was his parting charge to his disciples. And when he had gone to the Father, it was still a first and great doctrine with the apostles. They first testified that Jesus was the Christ, and then called on all men to repent. "Repent," said Peter at the conversion of the three thousand, "for the promise is unto you and your children." "Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out," was the language of the same Apostle when the five thousand believed. "Repent," was the appeal of Paul at Athens, and Ephesus, and throughout Asia, and at Jerusalem, and wherever he went. Repentance is, therefore, to be regarded as a fundamental doctrine, expressly stated, amplified, and urged a hundred times oftener than any one of the disputed speculative doctrines of Christendom is incidentally hinted at, or obscurely involved in some of those discussions into which the Apostles were sometimes drawn with the Jewish bigots and carping sophists of their day. As a *doctrine* therefore, as a subject of revelation, and divine teaching, it should hold, in our ideas of importance, a high preëminence over such speculative doctrines. Man's capacity and duty of repentance and God's sparing mercy and longsuffering compassion, — that must be a distorted system that does not place these among the foremost of its doctrines.

Love to God is an express and richly illustrated doctrine of the gospel. Sometimes it appears in the form of a general commandment, and sometimes in special precepts of piety and obedience. Sometimes it comes as an invitation, sometimes in a parable, and sometimes in an argument. Now it is a duty, and again it is an honor and a privilege. Here it is spoken of for reproof, and there in winning and comforting words. It is shown how man can love his Maker and Father, how he can admire, adore, and love his perfections, how that love can warm him with filial piety and manifest itself in the

keeping of his commandments, how it implies trust and gratitude, patience and hope, and begets joy and peace, how it makes the child like unto the Father, and prepares him for the bliss of his nearer presence. All this teaching constitutes a doctrine, a glorious doctrine. And a system of doctrines that should leave it out or give it an inferior place as a doctrine, such a system would be the coldest abstraction of the intellect, all barrenness and darkness.

Once more. Love to man is a Christian doctrine. It is taught, and is therefore a doctrine. The life and death of Jesus are a continued inculcation and exhibition of it. How does it run through his precepts, how does it shine in his miracles, and breathe in his prayers, and speak from his cross, and gird him up for suffering and death. And how incessantly and tenderly does the beloved disciple dwell upon it. How urgently does every Apostle commend it. Love, the source and sum of the social affections, the spirit of social kindness and beneficence, the spirit of justice, integrity, mutual forbearance and forgiveness, and of universal philanthropy, the bar against selfishness, the expanding and warming principle of the soul, such love is taught, explained,—it is a Christian doctrine. And can we survey the relations of man to his fellow-men, and see how we are bound up in each other for mutual happiness, and how the bond of love secures that happiness, how dreary the earth is, and how dark the prospect even of heaven without it, and at the same time see how pressingly, persuasively, and in all ways the Gospel urges it, and then think that any speculative article should have preference over it as a fundamental doctrine? No, this is a principal doctrine of the gospel.

From these general moral doctrines we might go on and state those which are more particular, embracing the instructions of the New Testament concerning all spiritual and all outward excellence. But these are sufficient to illustrate our position, that moral doctrines are the primary ones of Christianity. But to what purpose have we labored to show the great importance of these moral subjects, seeing that all Christians admit it? It is true that all do admit it. But they do not admit it to the full and proper extent. Ask almost any man who is much interested in religious subjects, and is devoted to the interests of any sect, believing, of course, that that sect is nearer to the whole truth than any other, ask him what he considers the great, leading doctrines

of the gospel, will he refer us first to the moral instructions of Jesus, and out of these specify some of the great doctrines? Not at all. He will refer us at once, and with all zeal, to the speculative doctrines of his sect. These will be uppermost in his mind. If we ask him what he thinks of the moral doctrines with which the Bible is chiefly occupied, he will readily admit their great importance, and say they ought certainly to be attended to, and next to faith, that is, faith in his peculiar speculative opinions, moral subjects are the highest. Still we shall find the second rank assigned to them. They do not rise first to the mind, when men talk about Christian doctrines or a Christian system. Christians pass over the smooth and level plain of Christian morals, where the spirit of Jesus dwells, where are the treasures and delights of his kingdom,—the neutral ground, the ground of peace,—and flee to the mountains, to contend for the faith amid rocks and woods and fastnesses, in the region of clouds and storms.

The importance of faith cannot be ranked too high. The first preliminary article, that which opens the door of Christ's kingdom to the soul and prepares the way for a more comprehensive faith, is, we have said, the truth that Jesus is the Christ. We are willing to add the doctrine which the Apostles sometimes placed in connexion with this, that of the resurrection of the dead. And next comes a moral faith, unapproached in importance by any other faith. We want none so much as a deep, firm, vivid, and enlightened faith in the moral truths of the gospel. It is a faith in our moral relations to our God, and in our moral discipleship with Christ. It is a belief that we have a great moral work to do, and by the grace of God can do it. It is the belief that a pure heart and a good conscience are the richest possessions that the universe affords. It is a faith in repentance, the conviction that we are sinners, and that we can and must repent of sin and turn and live, and that God is a forgiving Father, ready to raise up the fallen, to take back the erring to piety, virtue, and peace,—to himself. It is faith, a vital and predominant faith, in our improbability in piety and holiness, that we must, that we can, make progress in the new and divine life, continually forgetting the things that are behind and looking to the things that are before, and pressing on from height to height and from glory to glory. It is the sublime faith that goodness of heart and life, sought after, attained,

and constantly increased, is appointed by God to constitute our glory, our perfect and eternal bliss, and that by our love and fear of God and our hope of his favor, we must live and labor for it, and, if need be, suffer and die for it.

Such is Christian faith in its true and highest sense. These, we think, are the articles of the true system of Christian doctrine, — its foundation, its frame, and adorning. This is the faith that is the armour of God. This is the faith that rests not upon the mere convictions of reason, but goes at once into the inmost soul, and demands fidelity to itself, to its nature, powers, light, and privileges, — devotedness to God and duty, to Christ, to its own high, unchanging, and infinite happiness.

Jesus Christ declared, "I am the truth." We interpret his words by his life. His active, spotless, and wonderful life bodied forth, as it were, the doctrine which he taught. His whole character and history are one eloquent exhibition of moral truth, and an incitement to a living and practical faith in such truth. It was a literal expression, — "I am the truth." He was, throughout, the perfect manifestation of moral truth. And this is the truth for us to study, to employ our faculties upon most strenuously, to be most anxious to understand and to propagate. This is the truth to be held as identical with the gospel, as the Christian system. And this is the faith for us to cherish and strengthen, for animation, for warning, for comfort, for moral power, for growth in grace and piety. It is a faith to go with us and operate in all the periods and in every walk of life, to humble us in sin, to nerve us up for fidelity, to keep duty and accountableness in mind, to make life a glad and earnest effort after moral goodness and improvement. This is the faith to be kept, that we may pursue and finish the Christian course, and attain to the crown of rejoicing that is laid up in heaven for them that believe.

We have thus endeavoured to show the true comparative rank of the moral doctrines of the gospel. And if our conclusions are just, we infer that here and here only ought uniformity to be demanded as the test of orthodoxy, the conditions of universal fellowship. On this point uniformity is attainable, and really exists among all serious believers in the New Testament. And no other uniformity is attainable or ought to be demanded.

We come now to our principal remark in connexion with the work before us, namely, that all that class of evils of which Dr. Cox's book presents so fit and striking a specimen, all the evils of ecclesiastical division, all that exhibits Christendom to men and angels as a divided and distracted community, maintaining hundreds of hostile and irreconcilable religions under the name of a common Master, all arises from the fact, that men make the essence of Christianity to consist in speculative doctrines and not in moral ones, and accordingly make the unity of the church to consist in a speculative uniformity which is needless and impossible, and not in the uniform reception of those moral truths which are fully revealed and are not differed about. Each individual Christian or sect sets down a point of meeting, where it is impossible to meet, and makes Christianity consist in meeting there, and feels and acts as if such meeting were essential. There are of course a thousand such points, and hence a real division and all the jarrings and jealousies and strifes, deadly and interminable, which have so rent and distracted the church, that should be one in the bonds of love and peace. The evil arises not at all from the speculative diversities that do and must prevail, but from men's regarding those diversities as violations of the oneness of Christianity. Neither does the evil consist in what we suppose to be the speculative errors of any system of Christian doctrine, as such; but it arises from the idea that that one system, or any other particular system, is the one indivisible and essential Christianity, and from the dispositions, principles, and measures which necessarily accompany that false idea.

We will endeavour to illustrate these remarks by applying them to the case of several Christian sects.

Take the Catholic Church for example. There is nothing in its doctrinal system, as such, that is to be lamented. We may, indeed, think that that spiritual condition which gave rise to, and which is most favorable to the continuance of such a system, is not the highest and most desirable for man; but, seeing that that condition has existed and does exist, the existence of the doctrinal system is not to be mourned for. The evil lies not in the doctrines. These and the system which they constitute are wanted. They have been the means, and, under the circumstances, probably the necessary means of bringing multitudes to true Christian-

ity, the Christian character. *We* think we see much error in this system, we could not adopt it, it would not help *us* in the attainment of true Christianity. But there are a great many minds in such a state of intelligence, or so cast and formed, by constitution or circumstances, that it is just what is needed to christianize them. It is no evil. The evil all lies in the extraneous parts of the system. The enormities which we deprecate proceed from the idea that the moral doctrines which the system may accompany, and the Christian character which it may produce, are not Christianity, but that the doctrinal system itself is the one essential Christianity, and that conformity to it is the test of Christianity. This idea is the very corner-stone of the Romish constitution. It pervades the whole organization. It is an avowed principle and appears in every measure of church policy. And this principle, that there must be uniformity of faith, and that that one system is the single standard of such uniformity, and that all departure is damnable heresy, is the root of all the evil. It is this bad principle that started and established the idea that the bishop of Rome has an apostolic commission, and that he, aided by his councils, is the supreme spiritual legislator of the world, competent to decree, and authorized to enforce, that uniformity. It is this principle that has afforded that church a reason for its vast secular aggrandizement, thus leading the way to those corruptions of a pecuniary and political nature, which have brought such scandal upon the name of Christ. It is upon this principle that the Scriptures have been wrested from the hands of men, lest notions should be derived from them inconsistent with Christianity, that is, with the Romish system, notions that would disturb this essential uniformity. It is this principle that has built inquisitions, kindled fires, and persecuted and murdered good men. It is this principle that has made Catholic countries peculiarly prolific in infidelity and irreligion. Here is the worst consequence. It has excluded and denounced every other system. It has striven by all means to keep all minds fast bound down to this one. It has not permitted those minds that never could, or had ceased to be able to embrace that system and be influenced and christianized by it, — it has not permitted them to seek and adopt for themselves a different system, with which they might have an affinity, in which they might have a belief,

and the peace and sanctifying influence of believing. Accordingly such minds have had no faith and no Christian influence, and hence infidelity and irreligion. The history of France at the time of the first Revolution, when she voted herself a nation of atheists, illustrates this evil, the process and the extent of it. And whatsoever else we might find to deplore in Popery, it has its origin in this same fundamental principle, that there must be a uniformity of belief, and that Popery is of course the standard.

It is the same with Calvinism, either as it existed in the mind of Calvin himself, or under any of its modern modifications. There are many who think there is speculative error in that system. It is not the system that they can believe. But that is no objection to Calvinism. There are other minds, as honest and docile as theirs, that can and do receive it and do arrive at Christianity through it. It may seem to us an unreasonable system; but there are minds with which it has an affinity, with which it can coalesce, minds that are in a state to need this very system. We, with our turn and habits of mind, cannot know what is the process of this assimilation, what is precisely the state of the soul in receiving this system; and it is not necessary for us to know. But we do know, if we know any thing about it, that multitudes of souls which do receive it, do somehow receive the power of religion along with it, receive all that the soul needs, moral truth, and moral strength, piety, virtue, peace, and a hope full of God and immortality. There may be much error in the system, but it contains so much of truth, or is so apprehended by certain minds, as to make them all that they need to be, religious. The evil is not in Calvinism as a system of theological opinions. All the evil that we associate with that system arises from the idea, that there must be a speculative uniformity throughout the church, of which Calvinism is of course the standard, — an idea that has become so extensively incorporated with that system as to be nearly identified with it. It is this idea, with all the bitter uncharitableness and the unholy means and measures that frequently proceed from it, that constitutes the unchristian part of the system.

We would apply similar remarks to Universalism. Take *Ultra-Universalism*, as it is called. We are prepared to say that the existence of this system ought not to be regretted

by those who do not believe in its peculiar speculative doctrine. We believe that, within its legitimate limits, the limits to which it can be carried by fair and Christian means, it does good. It does not, as many apprehend, draw away, and consign to a hopeless state of indifference or irreligion, those who were before enjoying the sanctifying influences of other systems. Its prevalence has not, as many believe, degraded the religious character of the community. It has attracted those who had not been, nor were likely to be, attracted by any other system. It has established the dominion of the Christian faith over a wide region of mind, which would otherwise have been a barren waste of skepticism and thoughtlessness, or been ravaged and occupied by that reckless and disorganizing spirit of Infidelity, which is striving so zealously to propagate itself amongst us. The general interests of religion are more indebted to Universalism in this respect, than has yet been appreciated. It has caused Christ and his gospel to be honored by thousands who, but for it, would have been ere this revilers of all religion. And we mean it for no reproach to Universalism, that we thus speak of it in connexion with infidelity. Every other system has, more or less, done the same service to the general cause of Christianity. And it is partly because there are so many systems extant amongst us, that infidelity does not spread more than it does. We have no speculative sympathy with Universalism. We do not believe its great doctrine. But we are so happy as to think we see good in the system, and not only in the way we have mentioned, but we see fruits of holy living under its ministrations. We see amongst its disciples those who appear to have received along with it the essential Christian faith, and to live under the influence of the Christian law of piety and virtue. It does not lessen the influence of other better systems, and it is adapted to have a good and extensive one of its own. The evil is not in the system itself, but in the same fault which Universalists share with other sects. They insist too much upon their great speculative dogma, to the virtual disparagement of subjects infinitely more important. They are too pertinaciously bent on a uniformity, of which that dogma is the standard. They manifest too little respect for other systems, and too little patience with them. Under this form they exhibit as much uncharitableness as any other sect. They are too zealous in putting

down other systems, and too indiscriminate in the means they use for this end. They are too eager for a universal triumph. And thus they extend their system faster and farther than it ought to go, for the general interests of Christianity. If they would recede from their over-anxious desire of proselytism, and be content with a reasonable domain, and a natural growth, and devote themselves chiefly and most earnestly to the great moral doctrines which they hold, we should not object to their system as one among the multitude. It would be wanted, it would extend the Redeemer's kingdom.

One word upon Quakerism in this connexion. Dr. Cox, amongst a great deal of undeserved and indiscriminate denunciation of it, has pointed out its real sins and mischiefs. We think they are not such as he supposes them mainly to be. The radical error of the Friends consists not, as we conceive, in their peculiar views of spiritual influence, nor in their disbelief of the resurrection of the body, nor in their denial of the perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's supper, nor in their scruples about an educated and salaried ministry, nor in their mode of worship, nor in their abhorrence of war, nor in their little peculiarities of dress and address. We do not see any thing here to cut them off from the fellowship of Christians. We do not agree with them on their principal points. We should not think it well for all Christendom to adopt their system; and, from the nature of the case, it will not be so adopted. But we do not think a system is to be execrated because it is not possible or desirable for it to become universal. It may still be, and it is, good in its place. Dr. Cox himself bears witness to the sincerity and Christian excellence of many of the Society with whom he was best acquainted. But the great and real vice of the sect is the same, in spirit and substance, with that of other sects. They manifest, in their way, the same passion for uniformity, and the same spirit of intolerance. According to our author, who was himself a sufferer in this regard, they use all means of flattery and terror to repress the spirit of religious inquiry amongst their own members. They have a formidable system of excommunication which they hold up *in terrorem* over the doubting, and let fall heavily upon the wandering. Their views of other Christians and their frequent treatment of them in their writings,

are such as to justify the remark of Dr. Cox, that "they excommunicate the total species." Thus they violate sound philosophy, common sense, Christian liberty, and the catholic spirit of the gospel. These are the sins of Quakerism. We have no other charge against it, though we think Dr. Cox has argued soundly and conclusively against some of its speculative tenets.

We have not space to speak of other systems in the same connexion. But, in passing over them without notice, we do not mean to acquit them of the same charge. And whenever and wherever this idea of uniformity of speculative belief, as constituting Christianity, has become deeply incorporated with any doctrinal system, it has, so far, turned that system from its proper course, and its benign influence of saving and blessing the souls that could sympathize with it, and made it a monster of absurdity and mischief. It has often given a fiendish aspect to systems otherwise good. It has tracked their course, sometimes with blood and fire, and always with the worst of passions and the worst of consequences. It is this idea that has so often turned Christian hearts into stone. It has frozen up the fountains of Christian love and even of the natural affections. It has armed human tongues with the stings of vipers. It has caused the press to send out rivers of wormwood. It has changed the language of the pulpit from the message of peace and good-will into the hoarse and grating tones of malice. It disturbs the quiet of communities. It alienates neighbours and near friends. It holds up holy and Christian men to scorn. It divides Christ, and divides his Church. It is the demand for speculative uniformity that leads to all this; and systems of faith that might, that do, when this demand is kept out of view, lead humble and believing souls to Christ, and form them to holiness and fit them for heaven, are thus perverted to pernicious ends. The true ground of uniformity is overlooked, and a kind of uniformity is demanded, which is as impossible, as it is unevangelical and unnecessary. It is not the variety of systems, but the demand made and acted upon that there should be but one system, and that there is no Christianity but in conforming to that.

It may, perhaps, be inferred from the tenor of our remarks, that we would have all systems of doctrine regarded as equally true, and that none can have grounds of special confidence

in his own opinions. But not so. All the various systems that are believed are to be regarded as so many forms or modifications of truth. All doubtless are the vehicles of much and the most important truth, and probably none of them contains the whole,—pure, unmixed truth. It is not to be expected, that we can in this life attain to the whole truth, and the pure truth, on such subjects,—subjects relating to the infinite God and the world of spirits. We embrace such doctrines, and only such, as we think we find communicated in the gospel. And we have confidence in the truth of our opinions, because we cannot help having confidence in our own intelligence and discernment, and in the convictions of our own understanding. From the very nature of belief, we cannot help regarding our own opinions as the truth, and other systems as erroneous so far as they differ from ours. We cannot help having more confidence in our own minds than in those of others who differ from us. At the same time, we are to consider how possible and how necessary it is for minds, differently cast and trained, to view the same general truth under a somewhat different aspect, and to think they find reasons for believing some things which we, with our modes of judging, do not find to be revealed. We do not, on this account, have less confidence in what we believe to be revealed, nor have others, nor should they have, less confidence on account of our dissenting.

Thus God, in his adorable wisdom, has adapted his revelation to the various spiritual wants, and circumstances of his children. All can take the needful truth which is there, and so mould and modify it, that their minds can fasten upon it, and coalesce with it, and feel its power. All systems, thus deduced, contain the vital spark, the redeeming and sanctifying principle, which was meant to be imparted. Yes, they are all good for the minds that embrace them in the state in which they embrace them, and if they embrace them freely and in good faith, they all give man a Christian faith. They all raise the mind to a revealed God, and extend its views to a revealed eternity. They all bring the soul into believing communion with the blessed Jesus. They all present his image of perfect goodness, his spirit, his example, seeking a place in the hearts of men. They are all fitted to open the soul and prepare it for the indwelling and effectual working of the Holy Spirit. They all can lead their re-

spective adherents to the same point, to the one Christianity, the one Christ, the one consummation, even the favor and acceptance of God. They are all so many somewhat differing scaffoldings, built up on the pillars of faith around the one temple of truth and holiness; and if we would all be content to stand upon our own, and cease to be offended with those of our brethren, and look together towards the one temple, and work together in building it up, and worship together the one spirit that dwells therein, then God's will would be done, and the followers of Christ would be one, and his kingdom would be divided no more on earth.

One more wrong inference needs to be guarded against, namely, that according to these views, there ought to be no speculative discussion, and no efforts to extend what we believe to be the truth. This inference is not to be admitted. Such discussion and such efforts, in their proper place and degree, are wanted; for there is still, amongst us and everywhere, a world of minds which have not found their true place, have not found any settled faith, nor felt the sanctifying influence of any system. We ought, in Christian love, to wish them to have such a faith and feel such an influence. And therefore all Christians should regard it as a duty to present to the world their several forms of belief, with their reasons for believing. Unitarians, for example, ought to set forth their doctrines and their reasons for believing; for we think that amongst those who have not yet known Christ there are multitudes of minds, which, by their constitution or condition, are fitted to embrace our speculative views while they could not embrace others, and to find a power, and a light, and a joy in them which they could find in no others. It becomes us therefore, not with a sectarian ambition, not with the mad and foolish project of making all the world conform to our system as the only standard, but as fellow-laborers with all Christians for the advancement of a common cause, it becomes us to proclaim and maintain our views of Christian truth. So that while we believe that all systems have their place, and have a part to perform in this common work, while we would pray that by all means all may be saved, we should hope, as the servants of Christ, by our means to save some. This is the true ground on which, discussion, calm, catholic, and benevolent discussion is needed.

If the principles which we have endeavoured to unfold were adopted and acted upon by Christians, the effect would probably be, that many speculative doctrines now held sacred by various sects, perhaps by ourselves, would gradually become obsolete. Many, perhaps all, existing systems might be dissolved, and parts of them become the elements of new combinations. Light would break more freely from the gospel and be received into more willing and uncommitted minds. It is useless, as it is impossible, to predict the results of a state of things so new and imaginary; but whatever they might be, it can scarcely be doubted that they would be such as the friends of Christian truth and righteousness might rejoice in.

We have thus labored to show in what consists the essential oneness of Christianity, — that it does not consist in an impossible uniformity of opinion, that it does consist in the reception of the moral truths of the gospel, that the variety of systems in the world does not by its existence imply a reproachable or undesirable division, that all the evil of division arises from overlooking the true point of union and insisting upon a speculative uniformity.

These are the views that make for peace, plead for peace and union, on the only ground on which they can be attained. The hope of such peace may be idle and visionary. It can scarcely be breathed with confidence amidst the sad discouragements that surround us. It can scarcely be heard amidst the din of the war of sects. But it is a Christian hope, for it finds sympathy in the gentle spirit of Christ. It is a soothing and comforting hope, for it relieves us from the desperate and soul-hardening belief that it is our duty to wage an exterminating war against all systems but our own, and plant the standard of peace upon the ruins of the faith of millions of the good. It is a glorious and elevating hope, for it brings to view, though in a distant and dreamy scene, the disciples of Christ going on, side by side, as brethren, with mutual love and congratulations, laboring for the extension of the one blessed kingdom, and God and Christ smiling down with approval and a blessing upon this keeping of their commandment of love.

ART. III. — *Devotional Exercises: consisting of Reflections and Prayers for the use of Young Persons. To which is added A Guide to the Study of the Scriptures.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. From the Third London Edition. Boston: Leonard C. Bowles. 1833. 18mo. pp. 132.

APART from the interest which this volume derives from the circumstance of its being the earliest published work of a lady now holding a high rank in the literary world, it has strong claims of its own to the favorable regards of the friends of piety and virtue. Considering the limited number of the topics of the "Reflections," and the brevity with which they are treated, we think there is hardly a book in our language more worthy of becoming the religious companion of the private and serious hours of the young. Nor will its perusal and use be found unprofitable by those who are no longer young. Although it is particularly designed for those, who, having passed the period of childhood, are yet in the spring-time of life, still the greater portion of it is well calculated to improve the conduct and quicken the devotion of persons of every age. The "Reflections" are simple, practical, replete with rational thought, warmed by the spirit of piety, and applicable to every day's business and duty. The "Prayers" are concise, comprehensive, and deeply reverential, and contain frequent passages which are distinguished by great beauty of expression. Some Christians may think, that both the reflections and prayers are deficient in that fervor, and glow, and impassioned exclamation, which they are accustomed to find in books of devotion; but others will prefer them for this imagined deficiency, which they will rather esteem a merit, and none will charge them with being wanting in the fear of God, the love of the Saviour, or benevolence toward mankind.

The reflections in this volume, are not arranged according to any connexion or sequence in their subjects, but follow the artificial order of the mornings and evenings of one week. Each reflection is succeeded by a prayer, and the prayer is generally founded on the subject of the reflection.

That those of our readers who have not seen this little book, may be enabled to form some idea of its character, we will draw from it an extract or two, which may induce them

to seek a further acquaintance with it. The following is from the Reflection for Monday, the subject of which is "Benevolence." It will not, we trust, be found deficient in true religious and Christian fervor.

"In all the works of God, how apparent is his fatherly love for his creatures! None of his perfections is more evident; and there is none which it is more my duty to imitate. In this respect I may strive to become perfect, as he is perfect. While on earth, I may promote and encourage the growth of that blessed disposition, the exercise of which will, in all probability, form a part of my happiness in another state of being. It is reasonable to conclude this, as it is evident that those whose whole minds are engrossed by the care of their own happiness, are little fitted for dwelling in the presence of God, who is love itself; of Jesus, who gave himself for us; or of those holy men, who offered their lives to secure the richest and best blessings to mankind. O! surely the spirit of love is the noblest and best which can dwell in the human heart! It is a portion of God's own spirit; it is the mind which was in Christ Jesus!

O! noble example of this glorious virtue, let that mind be in me also! May thy labors, thy sufferings, thy strivings to promote the good of all men, not be lost upon me! May they animate me to follow in thy steps, to press forward towards the goal which thou hast reached, like thee seeking no reward but the favor of my God, and the love which he will hereafter extend to those whose benevolence will no longer be exerted in overcoming or alleviating evil, but in promoting the continually increasing happiness of kindred spirits through all eternity!" — pp. 28, 29.

And the Reflection for Friday Morning, on the "Love and reverential obedience due to Jesus Christ," though it may not contain every thing which some believers might desire to recognise, will yet be seen to express nothing but the strongest affection, and the most heartfelt veneration, for him who is "the way, the truth, and the life." If we must stand always on the defensive, offering continual apologies, as the Fathers were compelled to do of old, for the Gospel as we have received it, and repelling, with all our soul, the stale charge of infidelity, we will ask certain of our brethren to compare such passages as the succeeding with the writings of infidels; and if, after such a comparison, they persevere in their criminations, we may well hold ourselves excused,

if we believe and assert, that on this subject the force of prejudice and the spirit of system and sect, have dispossessed them not only of charity, but of common discrimination and soundness of mind.

"No one can read with attention the account which the Gospels present of the character of our Saviour, without feeling a high reverence for one who, in a mortal state, exhibited such a perfect example of holiness. But this reverence is very apt to lead men to forget the love they also owe to him, whose every act and word was prompted by the purest benevolence. Do I not find, when I read the New Testament, that while I feel astonishment and awe at the dignity of his character, I do not always bear in mind that my warmest affections ought to be interested in the narrative? In the Son of God, endowed with supernatural power, stilling the storm, subduing the elements to his will, and speaking the awful messages of God, do I remember the son of man, forgiving sins, pitying weaknesses, weeping at the tomb of his friend, and affectionately comforting those who were shortly to lose him? In him who led captivity captive, and broke the bonds of death, do I remember him who bore our griefs, and carried our sorrows, who was smitten for our transgressions, and by whose stripes we are healed? How many motives should prompt me to the indulgence of gratitude and love! For me, as well as for my brethren of mankind, did he lay down his life, that we might obtain the knowledge of his truth, and, by that means, life everlasting. By this benevolent sacrifice of all that he might have enjoyed on earth, I, in common with millions more of my fellow-creatures, have the benefit of direction in difficulty, support under temptation, unfailing comfort in sorrow, a joy which, though I possessed all that the world could afford, would make the world's gifts worthless in comparison, and a hope which in health, or in sickness, in life, or even in death, may enable me to possess my soul in peace, and to rejoice evermore. For his Gentile disciples of all countries, and in all ages, he offered up a benevolent prayer; and surely if they seek, they shall obtain the blessings which he asked for them. If I feel grateful affection for those friends, who, by their care and kindness, have given me the means of improvement, of maintenance, and enjoyment, what love ought I not to feel for him, to whom, next to my Maker, I owe the most valuable of all possessions and privileges! On earth he is no longer seen; but his voice still appeals to me in his gospel, to follow in his steps, to perfect myself by his example, and to fulfill his benevolent intentions, by being worthy of his love!

And shall he speak in vain? Shall the good Shepherd, with the voice of persuasion and gentleness, offer to lead his flock to the green pastures and still waters, and shall the sheep not hear his voice, but go astray and be lost? O no! let me rather yield to his guidance, and joyfully accept his protection: let me love him on earth, and bless his name, and then shall I be admitted to companionship with him in heaven, where he will welcome those who have followed him to that state of glory and happiness. Feeble as my powers may be, I can yet do something to further his gracious designs for the good of mankind. I may be able to cheer, with the light of heavenly truth, the mind darkened by guilt, error, or ignorance: I may be able, while relieving the afflicted, to point their view, in gratitude and confidence, to the Giver of all good: I may lead some to the forgiveness of their sins by repentance: I may be a peacemaker between those whose angry passions had cherished discord: I may excite those who suffer, to patience, those who fear or despond, to cheerful reliance on Him who raiseth up all that be bowed down: or at least I may glorify the gospel, by showing its fruits of love, joy, and peace, in my own character. If love, joy, and peace in believing, are the rewards of such conduct on earth, where we dwell in comparative darkness, what must be the bliss reserved for the virtuous in the manifest presence of Him who created all men, and of him who was the means of leading them to life eternal, and who will reward with his love those who have been fellow-workers with him in promoting the happiness of mankind! Let my fervent love and reverential obedience be ever given to him, whom, not having seen, I love; in whom, though now I see him not, yet believing, I rejoice, with joy unspeakable and full of glory." — pp. 81, 84.

As a strain of new music will often recall to the remembrance some more familiar melody, so there is something in the tone of the above sentences, which puts us in mind of the "Traditions of Palestine," and which induces us to repeat the wish, which we expressed in noticing that work in one of our former numbers, that its author would favor us with some other work after the same model. It was that delightful Christian romance, which first made us acquainted with the name, and gave us augury of the powers, of Harriet Martineau. This circumstance may have affected us with an undue partiality; but whether this be so or not, we cannot but regard the "Traditions," with all its faults, as Miss Martineau's best and most useful work. It is true that she has since written essays addressed to the Catholics, to the

Jews, to the Mahometans. These essays are very good, and contain passages of great power and beauty, and no doubt deserve the prizes which they gained. But we are contented with reading them once; and how many converts have been made by them? Has one Catholic, one Jew, one Mahometan been turned by those essays from the faith of his ancestors? If such an event has taken place, we have not heard of it. It is true, that she has also written a number of tales, intended to elucidate the principles of political economy; and that these tales have established her reputation, and spread it abroad; and that they are executed with eminent ability; and that they show a knowledge of matters of business and abstruse calculation, which would be deemed remarkable in any one, but, according to the present notions of society, are no less than wonderful in a woman. And yet, notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the praise and perhaps the patronage of such a man as Lord Brougham, notwithstanding the fashion of the day, we have such serious objections against the "*Illustrations of Political Economy*," that, though we delight to read and are informed and improved by reading them, we cannot help placing the more humble "*Traditions of Palestine*" above them, even on the score of practical utility. To state in a few words some of these objections, we doubt if a majority of those for whose especial benefit the "*Illustrations*" are designed, are able to understand them. Though the narrative part of them is interesting, there are long discussions in many of them, involving their vital principles, which are so much beyond the comprehension, or so far extended beyond the powers of attention and patience of ordinary readers, that they are either hurried over, or skipped entirely, and the benefit of them is lost. In the second place, we think that Miss Martineau has adopted too unreservedly Malthus's ideas on the subject of population, some of which appear to us not so cold and repulsive as baseless and contradicted by facts. And again, we think that Miss Martineau, in her *Illustrations*, attributes far too much of the immorality and distress of the lower classes in England to poor's-laws and almshouses, the excess of population, and the scarcity of food, and not half enough, indeed nothing, to the licentiousness of the upper classes, to their boundless extravagance, to their appropriation of thousands of rich acres of land to mere purposes of

luxury, to the laws of entail and primogeniture, and to the many other mischiefs attending the existence of an aristocracy got up in other times, and not fitted for our own. The "Illustrations" may have some tendency to allay present discontents and prevent partial disturbances; but their influence we hold to be nothing, compared to what it might have been, if they had stated these matters boldly and fairly, and as we expected Miss Martineau would have stated them, Whig as she is, Dissenter as she is, Unitarian as she is. We have no thought that the "Illustrations," after all that has been said of them, and notwithstanding their real merit, will allay, to any considerable extent, the uneasiness of a great mass of her countrymen, at a time when every man is beginning to suspect that he was made of the same clay as his neighbour. This is the substance of the objections which present themselves to us at this moment, and they forbid our yielding that cordial approbation to the series of "Illustrations," which the talent displayed in them seems to demand, and which, on the appearance of the first number, we were well disposed to give. And these are briefly the reasons why we prefer the "Traditions of Palestine," a work which has warmed the hearts and quickened the affections of many, and which will warm and quicken the hearts and affections of many more, giving them a fresh interest in the Gospel history, and inspiring them with increased attachment to the character of their Master.

But we have wandered from the work which was under our notice, and we will return to it by selecting one of the prayers which it contains, and which are of such uniform excellence, that we shall take the first one to which we may open.

"WEDNESDAY EVENING.

"Great and ever blessed God, how glorious is thy name, and how adorable are thy perfections! I cannot comprehend thy nature; for what mortal creature can know the eternal God? who can find out the Almighty to perfection? Thou hast existed for ever; and of thy being there shall be no end: from everlasting to everlasting thou art God. Great as thou art, though heaven is thy throne, though infinite space is thy habitation, thou dost not disdain to protect and sustain the meanest of thy creatures. Though angels that excel in strength are thy servants, though the mighty sun obeyeth thy command, though

all that is vast and wonderful is thine, thou dost care for all things that thou hast made; and not even a sparrow falleth to the ground without thy will. Thou hast invited man, sinful man, who disobeyeth and forgetteth thee, to draw near unto thee, to pour out his soul before thee in sorrow for sin: and, like a tender father, who pitieth his children, thou dost pity and pardon him, when he repenteth of the evil which he hath done. O Lord! I would partake of thy grace. I acknowledge with shame that I have displeased thee. I have done that which I ought not to have done, and have left undone that which I ought to have done. I have followed my own evil inclinations, rather than thy will. Thou hast said, 'Give me thy heart;' but I have given my heart too much to the things of the world, and have not cherished holy desires and heavenly hopes. O Lord! teach me thy way; teach me to please thee better, and to devote myself to thy service. May I contemplate thy attributes, till I strive in some measure to be perfect as thou art perfect. May I be a faithful follower of the Captain of our salvation: may I submit myself to his guidance, that I may pass safely and peacefully through the storms of sorrow, the snares of sin, and the dark valley of the shadow of death. Though his form is no more seen on earth, may the voice of exhortation, of encouragement, and of love, which still addresseth our hearts in his holy gospel, never cease to be my instructor in thy will, till the end of all things, when I shall appear before thee. O may I find mercy in that awful hour, and be permitted, through thy grace, to join those virtuous and happy spirits, who for ever dwell with thee.

"Merciful Father! accept of my humble thanksgivings for the blessings which have marked the day which is past; and may thy goodness protect me during the hours of darkness. May I lie down, and sleep, and wake in peace, because thou sustainest me; and may my first thoughts be devoted unto thee, my guardian and almighty Friend!

"Bestow thy blessing, I beseech thee, on all thy children of mankind. Do thou reclaim the wicked, comfort the afflicted, and permit all to rejoice in the light of thy gospel.

"I ask all in the name, and as the disciple, of thy Son, Jesus Christ, through whom I would ascribe unto thee all glory, honor, and praise, for ever. AMEN." — pp. 63 – 65.

The essay at the end of this little volume, entitled "A Guide to the Study of the Scriptures," enforces the necessity of studying the contemporaneous history of the Bible, the customs and opinions of the Jews, the climate and produc-

tions of Palestine, &c. in order to a proper understanding of the Bible itself. It also insists that the character of Christianity is to be learned, and its spirit imbibed, more from the life and acts, than from the precepts of its Founder. These opinions are doubtless sound, and are now more generally received than they were formerly. They are heard, not unfrequently, from our own pulpits, and are proclaimed from our presses; and yet they may be overstated. We, certainly, would be among the last to depreciate sacred criticism and biblical lore; but we would not exalt them at the expense of that saving knowledge which it is in the power of the Bible to impart to its most unlearned readers, — to those who have studied no archæologies, consulted no commentaries. And we are afraid that Miss Martineau has not sufficiently guarded herself in this particular, when she says, in the commencement of her essay, “Many children learn out of the Bible from day to day; their parents listen from week to week to what is read or expounded in places of worship; and the aged are often seen poring over the holy book in the intervals of their daily employments, and heard to repeat favorite passages out of it when eye-sight fails, or during sleepless portions of the night. Yet among all these there may be little real knowledge of the volume so much studied.” Now we hold, that there is a heart-knowledge of the Bible, a knowledge of the simplest, yet sublimest, holiest, and most important portion of its contents, which is always open to the serious, searching, and honest affections, which is to be learnt only by the affections, and without which all critical knowledge, valuable, exceedingly valuable as it is in its place, is nothing, absolutely nothing. We do not speak without some experience. We have not been exempt from affliction. We have known something of the trials of sickness. We can say with feeling, that at such periods of sorrow, when our flesh was failing, and our spirit was bowed down, the sweet words and trusting piety of one of the Psalms, in almost any translation, or the affectionate devotion and immortal promise breathing in our Saviour’s last discourses and prayers with his disciples, have afforded us strength and consolation which no critical aids could have increased. It was of little consequence to us, at those times, how the Jews wore their phylacteries, or sat at their meals, or built their tombs. These were subjects which did not enter our minds. We only knew that we had listened to words which were better than

any other words; that we had heard a voice from heaven, and were comforted. We felt that there was something in THE BOOK, which was to be found in no other book; something which distinguished it from other books; something independent, and requiring not the aid of adventitious learning. We sympathized anew in the spirit of those well-known verses;

"A man of subtle reasoning, asked
A peasant, if he knew
Where was the *internal evidence*
That proved his Bible true.

"The terms of disputative art
Had never reached his ear,
He laid his hand upon his heart,
And only answered, '*Here!*'"

After all, we believe that we are not, in reality, at issue with Miss Martineau, and that she would heartily agree to all that we have said. The omission or alteration of one or two such passages in her essay as that which we have quoted, which we must consider as unguarded, would take away the ground of the above remarks. We have spoken what we have spoken, freely, because we regard Miss Martineau as so near perfection, that we wish to see her perfect. To say the truth, there is no writer of the present day, in whose literary progress we entertain a warmer interest. She is continually before our view, commanding our constant admiration. And gifted as are the female writers of Great Britain, now living, when we reflect upon the number and variety of her writings, their ability, their practical purpose, and their religious spirit, we confess for her a superior respect, and are ready to place her at their head.

ART. IV. — *The Christian's Rule of Marriage*. An Essay
by HOWARD MALCOM, A. M. Boston. James Loring.
1834. 16mo. pp. 98.

MR. MALCOM has been led by his interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, and by other reasons, to deny the propriety of a sort of marriages of frequent occurrence in this

community, and to refuse to officiate as a clergyman in solemnizing them. His determination on this point, was announced for the first time, we believe, in the following note, originally addressed to the parties immediately interested, and some time afterwards published in the newspapers.

“*Boston, Nov. 9, 1833.*”

“Dear Sir:—You will do me the justice to believe me, when I assure you, that it is a grief to me that I must disoblige persons I greatly respect, and whose kindnesses I would repay by every means in my power, and at the same time draw censure upon myself from the many persons who will think me wrong. Towards yourself and Miss —— I entertain no other sentiments than those of affectionate respect, and shall be ready in all my life to render either of you the least or largest services in my power. My refusal to officiate at your nuptials arises from no other reason than a conscientious inability to unite an apparent and professing Christian to one who apparently and by profession is not a Christian.

“Very respectfully,

(Signed) HOWARD MALCOM.”

As the number of those who openly *profess* infidelity is not large, and as *professing* infidels are not likely to be persons for whom a Christian minister would “entertain no other sentiments than those of affectionate respect,” we presumed that Mr. Malcom meant, in this note, by “one who apparently, *and by profession*, is not a Christian,” one who is not a church-member. We supposed, until the book before us appeared, that he had conscientious scruples, which forbade his officiating at intermarriages between members of his congregation merely, whatever might be their character, and members of his church. Now, it seems, he lays down “the great rule, by which Christians are to be governed,” in terms somewhat different: to wit, “That *believers are not at liberty to contract marriage with unbelievers.*” This, in one respect, certainly, is better, inasmuch as it makes his scruples refer to the real belief of the parties, and not to their professions merely, or church-membership. Perhaps Mr. Malcom would not allow, that there are or can be “believers” out of the visible church. However this may be, his “great rule,” as now stated, does not assert, in words, that both the parties, or neither, must be church-members; but only, that

both the parties, or neither, must be believers. Still the question turns, it will be perceived, not on the expediency or necessity of congenial tempers and tastes, nor on requisitions of character, as that term is commonly understood, but on the matter of belief only; the officiating clergyman being judge, it would seem, of what is implied in such belief.

We feel little or no apprehension in regard to the influence or spread of this doctrine. Nevertheless, as it has been advanced by a gentleman holding a respectable position in the religious and literary world, and as it is advocated and acted on by him as a matter of conscience and religious principle, it seems to call for some notice. "These marriages," he says, "are either right or wrong; and sacred teachers are bound to find out and publish the truth in the case, according to their ability, or be guilty of negligence."

The Old Testament, as it seems to us, contains nothing, properly applicable, either on the ground of authority or analogical reasoning, to the question at issue. Mr. Malcom quotes, it is true, the following inculcation in Deuteronomy, vii. 2-4, or rather, we are sorry to say, misquotes it, wholly omitting the italicized clauses. "*And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them: neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.* For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods: so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly."

"This," he adds, "was not merely a prohibition to marry Canaanites, who had been doomed to destruction, but it extended to all heathen. Even in the days of Ezra, all such marriages were regarded as utterly sinful, though formed with Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, and other heathen, in whose lineage were none of the nations of Canaan."—p. 8.

If Mr. Malcom will look again at this "prohibition," he will find, that, like the similar statute, Exodus xxxiv. 16, it is limited to the "Canaanites, who had been doomed to destruction," and does not extend "to all heathen." By consulting the statute, Deuteronomy, xxi. 10-14, he will also find, that liberty is there expressly given to the Hebrews, to

marry *heathen* captives, not *Canaanites*; and that he has been led into error by overlooking or confounding this distinction. Furthermore, it appears from the book of Ruth, i. 4, 15, that Naomi's sons "took them wives of the women of Moab," not as captives or slaves, nor yet on condition of for ever renouncing their gods, or as Hebrew proselytes. An Israelite, as Michaelis observes, might certainly marry a heathen woman, provided he did not allow her, for the time being, to practise her idolatries. So common a book as Jahn's *Biblical Archæology*, should have set Mr. Malcom right on this subject, which says: "Intermarriages, moreover, were prohibited with the *Canaanites*, for fear that the Hebrews should be seduced to idolatry. The law was *extended by Ezra and Nehemiah* to intermarriages with *all foreigners*, on the ground, that there was as much danger of contamination from other nations in their time, as there was from the *Canaanites* anciently." * Besides, Mr. Malcom should remember, that if, as he intimates, "the reason" of the law which forbade intermarriages between the Israelites and *Canaanites* is in "full force" in relation to intermarriages between believers and unbelievers at the present day, that reason goes to the extent of interdicting not only intercourse by marriage, but all other intercourse. "Thou shalt *smite* them, and *utterly destroy* them; thou shalt make *no covenant* with them, nor *show mercy* unto them."

Indeed, the general points of difference in the two cases here brought into view, are so obvious, that we wonder greatly how a thinker and writer of Mr. Malcom's reputation could so far overlook them, as to suppose it logical and just to reason, as he does, from one to the other. Take it for granted, that the Hebrews were forbidden to intermarry with the subjects of other governments, and the devotees of hostile and debasing superstitions, that thus the fundamental policy of the Mosaic institutions, in keeping up a partition-wall between Jew and Gentile, might be realized more effectually. Does it follow, under totally dissimilar circumstances, that real and merely nominal Christians, being members of the same community, and perhaps of the same religious soci-

* Jahn's *Biblical Archæology*, § 152. See also Michaelis on the *Laws of Moses*, Vol. II. p. 37.

ety or congregation, are not at liberty to intermarry? The "reason" of the old law might apply with some force against intermarriages at the present day with polytheists and idolaters, or with avowed and contentious deists or atheists; but from the steps which Mr. Malcom has taken, and from the language he uses, it is plain, that these constitute but a small portion of the "unbelievers," to whom his "Christian rule of marriage" is meant to be applied. He includes among unbelievers, all such as are not, in his opinion, real believers; that is, all merely nominal Christians, though members of the same community, and of the same congregation. Now we say, that to adduce a law in point from the Old Testament, one must be found, which forbids the intermarriage not only of Jews with foreigners and idolaters, but of real Jews with merely nominal Jews, — of believing with unbelieving members of the Jewish community. Mr. Malcom will not pretend, we presume, that any such law exists, and his argument, therefore, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, fails.

We turn, next, to the authorities adduced from the New Testament, which, if possible, are still less satisfactory. The first is from Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, vi. 14-16; which, in the common version reads thus; "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God." On this passage Mr. Malcom comments as follows:

"There is no passage in the word of God more express and positive than this. Some, I am aware, consider it as applying primarily to the admittance of church members. But the great mass of commentators refer it to marriage. This seems to be rendered at least most probable, by the succession of interrogations, which immediately follows the prohibition." — p. 62.

If, as Mr. Malcom says, "there is no passage in the word of God more *express and positive* than this," it is certainly a little remarkable, that, by his own showing, some commentators refer it "to the admittance of church-members," and others "to marriage," and that we are left to determine

which interpretation is "at least most probable," not by the very terms of the prohibition, but "by the succession of interrogations which immediately follows" it. We are also curious to know what commentators Mr. Malcom is in the habit of consulting, and the names of some of those to whom he refers as "the great mass of commentators." Several works of this description are now lying open before us, not one of which refers the prohibition in question, "to the admittance of church-members," and only one, (Macknight, a critic of but third-rate pretensions,) "to marriage." Among the lexicographers, Schleusner, Robinson, and Bretschneider, and among the commentators, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Rosenmüller, Locke, Wakefield, Newcome, and others, make the figure, "be not *unequally yoked*," or "be not *yoke-fellows* with unbelievers," to mean, either that the early converts were not to imitate, or go along with, the pagans in their customs and institutions, or that they were not to form unsuitable connexions or intimacies with them. Mr. Malcom may think, perhaps, that this last interpretation, if well supported, would imply that they were not at liberty to contract marriages with pagans; but it is apparent from the connexion, that this was not in the Apostle's mind at the time, and that he had immediate reference to idolatrous intercourse alone,—to unsuitable connexions or intimacies, not of a matrimonial, but of a religious character.*

Mr. Malcom thus concludes his learned exposition:

"Let the reader understand that the argument from this text is not intended only for those who admit its being certain that the Apostle had marriage particularly in view at the time he

* Le Clerc thus paraphrases the passage in question; "Quæ potest esse causa, cur majore affectu prosequamini homines nequaquam Christianos, et fallaces doctores, quàm me?" Schleusner renders it; "Nolite societatem inire cum paganis, vobis plane imparibus, eorumque mores imitari et ita consortio, vobis indigno, uti." Referring to the same passage, under the word *ἑτεροζυγία*, Bretschneider observes, "Alteram jugi partem trahere est enim tropice, eosdem mores sequi;" and accordingly he makes the Apostle say; "Nolite sequi mores, instituta eorum, qui Christo fidem denegant." Wetstein, as quoted by Mr. Dabney, says expressly, "Paul is *not* speaking of matrimonial alliances, but of idolatrous intercourse." So likewise, Archbishop Newcome; "Show your affectionate obedience to me in this respect: Partake not in the religious rites of heathen worshippers."

wrote it. It cannot be evaded by any pretext. The passage must be blotted from the Bible, or those who profess and appear to be Christians, must not marry such as profess and appear not to be Christians."—p. 66.

Few things are so apt to disturb our habitual equanimity as this sort of flippancy in speaking of the Scriptures; as if we must blot or burn our Bibles, or succumb immediately to every antiquated absurdity, or upstart innovation. If, as the most eminent philologists teach, *ἑτεροζυγισμὸς* means, in this place, "to bear the other end of the yoke," or to go along with, or imitate, the pagans in their idolatrous rites, it obviously has nothing to do with connexions, equal or unequal, having any analogy to marriage. Or if Mr. Malcom chooses to put the prohibition to marry, on the ground that *all* intercourse and association between believers and unbelievers is forbidden, then, to be consistent, he must forbid their living together in the same family, their visiting familiarly in the same circle, and their doing business together. Besides, cannot Mr. Malcom distinguish between an apostolical injunction, supposing it to have been given, in regard to what in the existing circumstances was obviously expedient, and a positive law of perpetual obligation?

The second passage of Scripture adduced in support of the new "rule of marriage," is the following: "The wife is bound by the law, as long as her husband liveth; but, if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord." 1 Cor. vii. 39. On this passage Mr. Malcom expresses himself, as usual, in a little too much of "that spirit of dictation," of which, he tells us in his Preface, "he is conscious of being utterly destitute."

"The import of the expression," he says, "cannot be misunderstood, even by a negligent reader. A person who is 'in the Lord,' or 'in Christ Jesus,' is a person who belongs to the church of Christ, or a religious person. Mc Knight's rendering of our text is, 'only he must be a Christian,' and *no writer* offers a contrary interpretation."

Our author's acquaintance with Scripture, and Scriptural interpretation, is not such as to warrant him in the indulgence of such sweeping remarks. Le Clerc, Locke, and many others we doubt not, do offer, "a contrary interpretation"; making the widow's marrying "in the Lord" to refer to the

principles on which she is to marry, and not to the religious connexions or character of her intended husband.* Granting, however, that the interpretation of the Apostle's words given above is the true interpretation, it becomes us to inquire under what circumstances, and for what purpose they were written, and whether they must be considered as obligatory on "widows" at the present day. They occur in that part of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which Paul answers at length certain questions which they had sent to him respecting the propriety and expediency of marriage. After admitting the lawfulness of marriage in general, and charging those who were married not to separate, of their own accord, though married to unbelievers, he thus introduces his advice to young unmarried persons: "Now concerning virgins, *I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment*, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. *I suppose*, therefore, that this is good for the present distress." 1 Cor. vii. 25, 26. He then urges, for reasons which he assigns, that, other things permitting, it would be better for the young converts, "in the present distress" to remain single, and concludes with giving the following advice, having special reference to "widows." "The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she so abide, *after my judgment*; and *I think* also that I have the spirit of God." vv. 39, 40. Now we presume, that two persons are not to be found, whatever may be their prejudices and prepossessions, who can sit down and read through this whole chapter in connexion, without perceiving that the Apostle intended to be understood as giving advice, "after his judgment," and not as laying down a law on divine authority, and that the advice was not intended to be of universal and perpetual application, but had immediate and sole reference to "the present distress." Yet what says Mr. Malcom?

"Here there is a plain and positive rule. What shall be done with it? The will of heaven is distinctly revealed. Shall it be obeyed or disobeyed? Will we submit to the New Testament, or hide our face from its import? Let every one give to

* For a similar use of the phrase *to suppose* see Rom. xvi. 12. 1 Cor. i. 31. Ephes. iv. 1. Phil. iii. 1. Rev. xiv. 13.

this passage the reflection it deserves. It needs no comment, and scarcely admits any. The Lord preserve us from wilfully shutting our eyes, and drawing upon ourselves judicial blindness!"—pp. 68, 69.

Can Mr. Malcom be serious in talking in this wise about "judicial blindness"? Has he yet to learn that the apostolic counsels now under consideration, even if they were not *expressly* restricted to "the present distress," would nevertheless have received such a construction from all enlightened critics, according to a familiar and well established rule of interpretation as set forth by orthodox writers? "Instead of adopting the sayings and actions recorded in Scripture, implicitly and absolutely," says Dr. Hey, in a passage from his *Norrisian Lectures* quoted and approved by Mr. Horne, "we ought to reason in some such manner as this: If such a person so situated, best answered the ends of such an institution, by acting in such a manner, how shall we, in our situation, best answer the ends of the same."* Also, in a recent article on Dr. Arnold's Sermons in "*The British Critic*,"† we find the same doctrine advanced with still greater distinctness by him, and conceded by his reviewers; to wit, "that the divine commandments, addressed to one man, or one generation of men, are binding on other men and other generations, only so far forth as their respective circumstances and conditions are similar." And what were the "circumstances and conditions" of the case in question? A widow, an unprotected female, belonging to a proscribed and persecuted sect, was advised not to put at risk her faith, her comfort, and her life, and those of her children, by becoming the wife, which in those days would have made her but little better than the slave, of an imperious idolater or Jew. Now will any body in his senses pretend, that there is any sort of analogy between the domestic circumstances of such a widow so connected and those of a believer married to an unbeliever at the present day, the unbeliever being of such a character in other respects, that a Christian minister entertains for him "no other sentiments than those of affectionate respect"? The Apostle's advice, though he is careful to say that he did not enjoin it as a "commandment of the Lord," was evidently

* Horne's Introduction, Vol I. p. 675.

† No. 25.

judicious and important in reference to the peculiar times and circumstances for which it was intended, and to which it was limited. Yet who will say, that by any just parity of reason it can be applied as advice, and much less *as a law*, at the present day, to prevent the intermarriage of "apparent and professing Christians," of any age, or either sex, with those who do not claim to be so regarded, but who nevertheless are thoroughly amiable and respectable members of the same Christian community, and perhaps of the same congregation? Happily however, in this case, there is no necessity of resorting to general reasonings; because, as we have had occasion to intimate more than once already, the advice is restricted expressly, and in so many words, to the existing exigency of the first converts, "the present distress."

One other text is alleged by Mr. Malcom in justification of the step he has taken, somewhat "oblique" in its application, as he himself is constrained to admit. It is this: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles?" 1 Cor. ix. 5. That is to say: Paul had as good a right to lead about a sister, a wife, in his missionary excursions, as any other Apostle. *Therefore* it is universally true at the present day, and should be recognised and obeyed as a positive law, that "believers are not at liberty to contract marriage with unbelievers." Such logic can hardly have a face to plead even "benefit of clergy."

Three or four objections drawn from reason, experience, and general expediency, but not very precisely stated nor logically arranged, are also urged in this work against the marriages in question. So far as they have any force or consistency they may be regarded as a feeble defence of a proposition, respecting which we suppose, however much it may be disregarded in practice, there can really be but one mind. We mean, that it is of paramount importance, in the choice of a husband or wife, to consider suitableness, not only of age, education, taste, and external condition, but also of moral and religious character. But what has this to do with the proposition which Mr. Malcom, in justification of the singular step he has taken, here proposes to verify and establish; namely, "that believers are not at liberty to contract marriage with unbelievers." We presume that he can perceive the distinction, now that it is pointed out, between

advice and a law, between the inculcation of a general rule of expediency, which every one is left "at liberty" to apply for himself, and the inculcation of a universal, express, and authoritative prohibition. Cases may occur, doubtless, like that of the Missionaries mentioned by Mr. Malcom,* in which to a sound and well-ordered mind there can be no more doubt about the impropriety of an ill assorted marriage, than if it were contracted in the face of an express interdict. From the following extract, however, it will appear, that he proposes to carry his "Christian rule" much further; and to an extent, which in this community would be alike unauthorized and odious:

"Suppose the husband," says he, "to possess the highest degree of mere human excellence, in disposition and habits; and the utmost respect for religious forms: Suppose him honorable, benevolent, educated, judicious, useful. Suppose him to train his children with the utmost propriety, and even maintain family worship. Here is a strong case. But he is not pious, *in the estimation of the judicious*. A Christian female adventures marriage. What will be the probable effect? Will she not be likely, in her love and respect for him, *after intimate and prolonged witness of his excellence*, to ask whether he has not religion enough? Will she not doubt whether she herself be as good, because she finds *her life less perfect*? Will it not seem to her impossible that this kind, good, and *apparently religious* man, who seems to do the best he can, should be an heir of wrath, a candidate for *infinite misery*? Her heart will rise up against the discriminating doctrines of grace:"—p. 26.

This, to be sure, is a pretty "strong case." Human excellence can be nothing more than human excellence; that is to say, it must be "mere human excellence." Here, then, is one who possesses all the excellence attain-

* He tells us, in a note, p. 24; that, "at the Society Islands, some who had gone forth to convert the heathen to God, and had resolution enough to leave all to do this service, on losing their companions, sought second marriages among the unconverted natives. But they were like Samson before Delilah! They soon abandoned the society of their brethren, at length renounced Christianity, sunk into shocking vices, and went down apostates from God, to untimely graves!" Mr. Malcom ought not to have retailed this startling anecdote, to us, and we presume to many others, entirely new, without giving the names, or at least the necessary references. We hope and trust that such cases have not been of frequent occurrence.

ble by man, both "in disposition and habits," and in "the highest degree." He is not only "honorable, benevolent, educated, judicious, useful" but "kind, good, and apparently religious," manifesting "the utmost respect for religious forms," training up his children "with the utmost propriety," and even maintaining "family worship." Now where is the "Christian female" in this community, not utterly besotted by a debasing fanaticism, who would hesitate to encourage the proposals of such a man, on the ground that she must first go and consult her minister, or the church, (for they, we suppose, are to be understood by "the judicious,") and ascertain whether in the cabalistic phrase of her party he is "pious," or not? At the same time we entirely agree with Mr. Malcom in the opinion which he intimates, that a sensible and observing female, connected with such a husband, will be very likely, "after intimate and prolonged witness of his excellence," and finding that his "life" is better than hers, to begin to suspect that he may have something of the Christian about him. Certain we are, that Mr. Malcom is right in saying, that in process of time "her heart will rise up against" any doctrines, however misnamed, which assert or imply the horrible idea that such a person "who seems to do the best he can, should be an heir of wrath, a candidate for infinite misery." The "rule of marriage" here advocated would carry the worst features of the Exclusive System into our social and domestic, as well as religious relations. We do not say that this was intended by its author, for he does not appear to be aware, in all cases, of the tendency of his own arguments, nor of what they would really prove, if they proved any thing. But we do say that this would follow in fact, provided his loose and inconsequential suggestions were carried out to their legitimate results, and acted on generally and consistently. Why not say then, in so many words, that a female brought up in an Orthodox family, and herself Orthodox and pious, is "not at liberty to contract marriage with" one who is not Orthodox, though possessing "the highest degree of mere human excellence,"—a "kind, good, and apparently religious man,"—because forsooth, becoming impressed with his better sense, and, if Mr. Malcom will have it so, his better "life," she may be led at last to renounce or suspect some of the "diserminating doctrines" of Orthodoxy?

Again Mr. Malcom says:

"A living, devoted Christian may be forced into the company of the ungodly, but he cannot be happy there. He can be friendly and obliging to all, but he cannot be familiar and at ease with all. Nor would the sinner *be fond of his company*, if, under an awful sense of future realities, he took care on all proper occasions, to set forth the claims of his Divine Master, the vices and dangers of sinful associates, and the superiority of spiritual pleasures.

"Such alliances, then, are essentially rebellious. Whoever contracts them in spite of reason, and Scripture, and fair remonstrance, can have little claim to true discipleship. How can the dutiful servant marry his Master's declared enemy? It was an awful question to Jehoshaphat — 'Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?' How can a good child marry the natural enemy of his father, and of his father's principles? The question comes closer. Can any one marry *his own personal enemy*?" p 13.

"He," our author had said immediately before, "who is sincere in allegiance takes his Lord's enemies as *his own*"; and the tendency of the remarks just quoted seems to be to stir up such a person to treat them accordingly. We submit, however, whether a minister of the gospel would be well employed who should go round and instruct the godly wives of his flock to look upon their husbands, when "not pious in the estimation of the judicious", as *personal enemies*. If actually married, Mr. Malcom admits, that they are not at liberty to separate; still, according to his principles, the godly wife must live with her (so called) ungodly husband, though, as we have seen, he may be a "kind, good, and apparently religious man," as with her "own personal enemy." Nay, if we understand what is meant, it is gravely argued against the unequal matches complained of, that a godly wife thus connected may perchance be so far carried away by a sense of her husband's acknowledged "excellence" and better "life", as to forget in her unguarded moments that he is her "own personal enemy," and not take care, "under an awful sense of future realities," to make herself sufficiently disagreeable to him. A few such cases may have come under Mr. Malcom's notice, but we bid him be comforted; for generally speaking we believe that the sort of "godly wives," here had particularly in view, do not think much

better of their husbands, nor treat them much better, than his doctrine would seem to require. At the same time he need look no further for an explanation of the fact, which he so frequently insists upon and deploras, that *his* "godly wives" are but seldom instrumental in winning over their husbands to a deeper sense of religion. To have part in the apostolic encouragement, they must submit to the apostolic injunction. "Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives, while they observe your chaste conversation coupled with fear." 1 Peter iii. 1, 2. Then, "What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?" 1 Cor. vii. 16.

Some directions are given to parents, towards the close of the book, in regard to the policy to be adopted with reference to "the enemy," which come, we suppose, under the head of stratagem.

"If your pious daughter," we are told, "be the object of peculiar regard to some youth, ingenuous, but yet not religious, I do not say you should thwart such an attachment. But let it not grow into an ardent intimacy. Especially let it not ripen into an engagement. * * * * Let him accompany her to the house of God, and to the conference meeting. Let him have the all-important subject kept suitably before him. Let him kneel by your family altar, while you pour out before God your audible entreaties on his behalf. Let him hear from her lips the frequent experience of her own heart. In fine, let the thousand *secret arts*, which affection and piety dictate, be employed. Who can doubt the result?" — pp. 88, 89.

"Marriage," according to Mr. Malcom, p. 38, "is not among the means of grace"; but courtship, it seems, is, though at some little expense of consistency in regard to "the vices and dangers of sinful associates."

The author of this essay appeals (p. 44.) to "the united testimony of great and good men in all ages," as sustaining his doctrine, "without a dissenting voice." Instead of this, however, his own citations show that few of them, if any, sustain or countenance it; at any rate, not to the extent to which he would have it carried, nor in the particular application of it now under consideration. They urge indeed, and, by uni-

versal consent, the Christian moralist cannot urge too strenuously, the extreme evils and dangers of all intimacy and familiarity, and especially of marriage, with the wicked and irreligious; and that with husband and wife there should be some good degree of congeniality, not only in temper, and taste, and worldly views, but, for still stronger reasons, in moral and religious character; nay, if possible, that there should be on the all-important subject of Christianity entire harmony of opinion as well as of feeling and worship. They allege, moreover, what, we presume, nobody in his senses ever thought of questioning, that a vast proportion of the crime and misery in the world may be traced directly or indirectly to ill-assorted matches, lightly, absurdly, insanely entered into by persons, the mutual repugnance of whose constitutions, principles, or connexions, made it in the highest degree improbable from the beginning that they would live together either virtuously or happily. Mankind not unfrequently manifest in, beyond all question or comparison, the most eventful transaction of life, less discretion or deliberation than they do in the most trivial; and seeing this, the wise and good exclaim, remonstrate, entreat. But, unlike Mr. Malcom, they do not frame a proposition of their own, and think to impose it on the community, as an express and positive law of God; they do not take it upon themselves authoritatively to affirm, that there can be no possible exceptions to this general rule of expediency or propriety; nor do they set themselves up as infallible umpires in regard to the practical application of such a rule. They set forth the general principles, on which a Christian should proceed in such cases; they insist on the peril of contracting an unsuitable alliance, putting their objection on the same general ground, whether this unsuitableness grows out of an apparently irreconcilable repugnance of temper, or occupation, or faith; they indicate the usual, the probable consequences of such alliances. But they do not, like Mr. Malcom, propose on any grounds to take from the parties immediately interested the "liberty" to decide for themselves in the last resort the question of expediency, and right, and Christian consistency, in its application to the case in hand. Probably not a minister referred to in this Essay would have refused or hesitated to solemnize a marriage between two members of his own congregation, or the same community, for both of whom he en-

tertained "no other sentiments than those of affectionate respect," on the ground here taken by Mr. Malcom;—namely, that in his judgment one was a believer, and the other an unbeliever, and that such marriages are expressly and positively interdicted, like those between persons within the prescribed degrees of relationship and blood.*

In noticing a few of the "objections" to his course, Mr. Malcom thinks it a small matter, that "as the number of the female sex transcends that of the other, in the visible church, this doctrine would consign many Christian females to celibacy." Neither is he much staggered by the posing question, "May not a Christian be happier, with a person altogether amiable, without piety, than with a crooked, ill-tempered professor?" "If," says he (p. 80), "you were *compelled* to marry either an amiable sinner, or an unamiable Christian, take the Christian." It is hard that a man should be "compelled" to marry anybody; but, in the alternative here proposed, most persons, we think, would take the "amiable sinner," if we know what is meant by that odd appellation. But the great and insuperable objections to Mr. Malcom's scheme are these. It is not supported by a shadow of authority or warrant from Scripture; it proposes to draw a line of demarkation between believers and unbelievers, the converted and unconverted, professors and non-professors, absolutely without precedent in the church; it would have the effect to implicate our social and domestic as well as religious relations in all the uncertainty of theological disputation, and in all the evils and injustice of the Exclusive System; and it would make the priest or minister an umpire and a spiritual dictator in a service, in which he is known to the laws in no

* Neander does not represent the primitive Christians as going to this extent in discouraging intermarriages with *pagans*; who says, — and the passage, by the way, is in many respects a better one in favor of Mr. Malcom than any he has adduced: "As long as the religious and moral point of view, in which Christianity first presented marriage, was strictly adhered to, it was felt, that, where the bond of religion did not unite the consciences, where, on the contrary, there was a *decided disunion* in the highest circumstance of the inward life, the true import of marriage could never receive its fulfilment. *It was, therefore, wished* that no marriages should ever take place between Christians and *heathens*." — *History of the Christian Religion and Church*. Vol. I. p. 317.

other capacity than as a civil functionary. Besides, supposing it to be carried into full and successful operation, it would not, and could not, prevent or materially lessen, the frequency or the evils of unequal and ill-sorted marriages in the community; because "unbelievers," who, in Mr. Malcom's sense of that term, constitute the great majority, would still be "at liberty" to marry as they list, and "believers" themselves would also be "at liberty" to marry one another without regard to irreconcilable and mortal repugnances of temper, habits, and connexions.

As the author of this Essay has publicly invited a discussion of the soundness of its principles and reasonings, we hope he will take in good part what is here offered. We do not understand that his own denomination accord with him, any more than other Christians, in the novel and extraordinary position which he has assumed. We doubt, neither the uprightness of his purposes, nor his general ability and usefulness as a Christian minister; but until he has accustomed himself to sounder principles of Scriptural interpretation, and a closer and more exact logic, we entertain no fears of his making a single convert to his innovations.

ART. V.—*Historical Class Book; (Part First.) Containing Sketches of History, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Roman Empire in Italy*, A. D. 476. By WILLIAM SULLIVAN, LL. D. &c. Boston: Carter, Hendee, & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. 264.

THE same hand which has already furnished our schools with a Political and a Moral, now offers them an Historical Class Book. The workings of the same mind can be easily traced in all three of these volumes, and the last is not inferior in ability or interest to either of its predecessors. We were particularly pleased with the judicious abstract which is given of the early history of the world, drawn, of course, from the writings of the Old Testament. It presents the most important facts in the lives of "the youthful world's gray fathers," the fortunes of the Jewish nation,

and the general course of events as recorded in ancient Scripture; and while it places these in a prominent light, it only glances at matters of obscure and doubtful import and unsettled controversy. That portion also of the world's history which is commonly called "profane," is presented with similar judgment; and the moral remarks and inferences which are made, while they are generally sound and valuable, are so seasoned with liveliness as to suit the frame and apprehension of the youthful mind. Take the two following sections as examples.

"141. It is enough to show the interest of the present day in Grecian mythology, that students, whether they spend their hours of study on poetry or prose, on subjects of religion, policy, war, or philosophy, are sure to find something of these deities in all that is sought to be known. The sacred nine are annually invoked in all the scientific institutions of Europe and America. It would detract nothing from the solemnity of the invocation to know, that the nine were originally only a band of songsters who constituted part of the retinue of a royal lover of music; for poetry has long hallowed their divine vocation, and established an empire for them which no one would be impious enough to dispute. Many of these delightful visions would melt away, if one knew of what elements they were composed. It is justly due, however, to the heroic age to say, that there was then none of the absurd idolatry which disgraced cotemporaneous nations; and that there was a loftier sense of morality, founded in the fear of the gods, than was manifested in after ages, by the same people, when they became more refined. It is probable that they had oracles in these early days, but their supremacy belongs to a later period.

"142. It is deeply to be regretted, that the indispensable acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages has been commonly made through diligent study of fables little suited to the purity of youthful minds. There are purified editions of the Greek and Latin classics, which must be familiarly known to qualify a youth to be received into any college. But there are still many passages retained, which a preceptor would blush to construe and explain to his pupil. The world, at this day, would be none the worse, if the works of Ovid had not come down to us."—pp. 75, 76.

The latter of these sections, especially, we were glad to see in type and in a school-book. It may do something, beside what has already been done elsewhere and by others,

toward the redressing of a great wrong. It is only a few years since it seems to have been seriously supposed, that impurity is impurity in Greek and Latin as well as in English; and not the less so, when the impure Greek or Latin is required to be rendered into corresponding English, by a boy, in the hearing of a whole class or school of boys. We are amazed to think what licentious stuff used to be recited to a grave instructor by his ingenuous pupils, and after it had been studied and conned by them too most diligently, word by word, and with the help, perhaps, in the case of a poet, of what was called an "*ordo*," which exhibited in bald prose the more elegant abominations of the poetry. What an influence must this have had on the minds of those, who were taught at the same time to cherish the warmest enthusiasm toward every thing *classical*, and to look on the writers of Greece and Rome as sacred and almost superhuman characters? The state of things is better now. In our schools and colleges we have expurgated editions of some of the ancient classics; and this change we regard as marking one step in the improvement of the age. But we agree with Mr Sullivan, that more expurgation, more of the cleansing process, is yet required.

In concluding the history of ancient Rome, the following summary is given of the character of the famed mistress of the world, which will show the author's estimate of Roman virtue and Roman glory.

"449. Such seems to have been the origin, the progress, the decline, and fall of Rome. Emotions of sorrow and compassion arise, that Rome, and Romans, should be prostrate before an unfeeling and ignorant savage: that brutal muscular strength should usurp the abodes of Camillus, of the Scipios, and of Brutus; and the seats of patriotism, learning, eloquence, and refinement. But, what was *patriotism* at Rome? Humiliation, servitude, or destruction, to all that lived but Romans. What was *learning* at Rome? The best of the remnants which have been saved, are mythological fancies, stories of barbarous or intestine wars, severe satires on Roman manners, or complaints of suffering under the hand of rapine: the only relief, in the picture, is the beautiful philosophy of Cicero. Of the *eloquence* of Rome, the finest specimens are found in the just criminations of its own profligate conspirators against the rights and liberties of their countrymen. Its *refinements*, with few exceptions, may all be reduced to the using of natural and

artificial products, for the mere gratification of the senses. The roads of the empire were for *armies* to march on. The monuments of Rome tell only of Roman cruelties and robberies, or of arrogant self-gratulation. The national *integrity* of Romans is found in the answer of Brennus, the Gaul; 'My right I carry at the point of my sword; all things belong to the brave.' What was the sum of misery inflicted on the human race, to make Rome great and glorious! How many countries laid waste; how many cities plundered and destroyed; how many better men than Romans, and even how many illustrious *FEMALES* toiled after the triumphal car, to pass to the precincts of a prison, or to the hands of an executioner! After all the proud eulogies bestowed on Romans, they were, in *MORALS*, worse than those whom they stigmatized as barbarians; they were superior to their final conquerors, only in the refinements of selfishness." — p. 239.

The last chapter of the volume is taken up with the institution of some "comparisons between ancient nations, and the people of the United States." The result of these comparisons is to show, that we enjoy high advantages, civil, political, moral, and religious, over the states of elder times; but they are concluded by a serious warning against the abuse of these advantages, and against the influence of those men who would tempt us to abuse them. From this chapter we cannot forbear quoting the author's excellent remarks on the artificial distinctions of society.

"454. Among the causes of the miseries which have been noticed, in these ancient nations, was that of irrational distinction among the members of society. Birth, office, or peculiar privileges, gave a superiority to a few, over the multitude. The few were rich, luxurious, and tyrannical, the many were poor, craving, idle, and ignorant; and yet were sometimes the ultimate sovereign, especially in Rome. When the favor of such a sovereign was to be had through gifts, spectacles, and amusements, which the rich and aspiring could afford to present, it was inevitable that such a sovereign should become venal and corrupt. It was still worse, when the populace were idle and craving, and could only be kept from sedition and tumult, by being fed at public expense, and amused with splendid pageantry, or interested by sanguinary conflicts between human beings, or between men and ferocious beasts.

"455. No such causes of degradation exist in the United States. Office does not give wealth, nor the means of acquir-

ing it, unless gross and abominable frauds be resorted to. There are no distinctions founded in riches, which are politically dangerous, or socially inconvenient. Riches come from inheritance, or industry; and the wealthy must use their wealth for the common good, or not use it at all. Wealth cannot be productive here, without giving employment to the various orders of society, in the known divisions of labor. There can be no accumulation of wealth, which will make it a dangerous engine. Comparing the riches which many individuals had in Rome, Greece, and the East, with those which Americans have, no man in the United States can be said to be rich. The wealth of the richest is soon divided and dissipated; and one or two generations sink the greatest fortune to insignificance by distribution. The way to wealth is equally open to talents and industry, in whomsoever these qualities are found. But, however rich one may be, and whatever use he may desire to make of riches, for purposes hostile to the public welfare, there is no such material to work upon here, as in Greece and Rome. There is in this land no idle, corrupt populace, for a Crassus to purchase; no hireling soldiery, for an Octavius to reward. Every member of society may be usefully and properly busy, and all worthy and reputable persons are so." — pp. 243, 244.

Instructors of youth must decide, whether this Class Book is peculiarly adapted, as we cannot help thinking it is, to the use of schools. Although this is a point which we cannot decide for them, we can at least recommend the work to their perusal, that they may make an impartial trial of it for themselves.

ART. VI. — *Memoir of Roger Williams, the Founder of the State of Rhode Island.* By JAMES D. KNOWLES, Professor of Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. Lincoln, Edmands, & Co. Boston. 1834. 12mo. pp. xx. and 437.

WE are indebted to Professor Knowles for a valuable contribution in this work to the history and biography of our country. A life of Roger Williams, we had occasion to know, had been once and again proposed, as it had also been much desired. It is exhibited in this volume with faithfulness and impartiality. The author has evidently

spared no pains in collecting the requisite materials, which both Dr. Belknap, our American biographer, and Mr. Southey in England, had sought without success, and which, scattered and imperfect as they were, required no small industry and skill to assemble and arrange. We are particularly gratified by the spirit of candor and sober discrimination, which pervades the volume, and is among its highest recommendations. It has established beyond all reasonable question the claims of Roger Williams to a place not only with the founders of its independent states, but with the honored Fathers of New England; with that illustrious race of men, of whom Lord Brougham, the present Chancellor of England, in his work on Colonial Policy, thus speaks: "The first settlers of all the colonies were men of irreproachable characters. Many of them fled from persecution; others on account of an honorable poverty; and all of them with their expectations limited to the prospect of a bare subsistence in freedom and peace. All idea of wealth or pleasure was out of question. The greater part of them viewed their emigration as a taking up of the cross, and bounded their hopes of riches to the gifts of the spirit, and their ambition to the desire of a kingdom beyond the grave. A set of men more conscientious in their doings and simple in their manners never founded a commonwealth. And," concludes he, "it is the peculiar glory of North America, that, with a very few exceptions, its empire was originally founded in charity and peace."

It is a common fault in biography to magnify beyond all just proportion the merits of its subjects; especially, when, as in this instance of Roger Williams, ancient prejudices are to be removed, and disputed honors conferred, the biographer almost of necessity becomes the zealous advocate. And in the fervor of defence, perhaps too from the mere contemplation, in its fairer exhibitions, of the character of his hero, he is naturally betrayed into extravagance and enthusiasm. Should it also happen, that local or professional partialities conspire to aggravate this tendency, it would be rare indeed to find, and it would be almost unreasonable to look for simple truth. Hence the difference so often perceived between the memoirs of eminent men and the men themselves. Hence the distrust, at least the qualified confidence, with which the cautious and reflecting read the lives

of saints, of heroes, and of pious children. That, which was of itself in no way remarkable, or which to the impartial eye or daily observation, might have appeared a defect, shall, with a little imagination and dressing up, be held out as an eminent gift or virtue. From these faults the Memoir before us is uncommonly free. We believe Mr. Knowles has been faithful to history and truth, without coloring or overstatement. And, what in these days of bitterness and exclusiveness is certainly no vulgar praise,—would that it were so,—in vindicating the claims of the founder of his native state, he has neither overlooked nor depreciated the merits of his opponents, even when justice to them would seem to involve reproach upon him. To Mr. Cotton of Boston, and other congregational ministers, who could not but disapprove the conduct as well as the opinions of Williams; to Governors Winthrop and Winslow, who, notwithstanding their personal friendship, were required by their official stations to execute the public will against him; and to the character of the Puritan fathers in general, whose views of religion and state-policy took their impression not less from the necessities of their condition than from the spirit of the times,—Professor Knowles is throughout this Memoir, and we take pleasure in acknowledging it, invariably just, candid, and honorable.

Of the style of this book we might speak in commendation, if we except an affectation of classic allusion, occasionally betraying itself, and not always of the most graceful kind. We are not studious of selecting examples, nor are there many. In referring, however, to Mr. Williams's hospitality to the fugitive Gorton, the author takes care to show us, that he was no stranger to Virgil, or Virgil no stranger to him; for he tells us, that Mr. Williams "had himself tasted of the cup of sorrow, and, *like Dido*," (that love-sick lady of old), "had been taught by suffering to succour the miserable"!—This is somewhat of an approach to the pedantry of days that are past, when few boys went to college, and they that did were willing to show that they had been there.

In the following extract from his Preface the writer introduces the subject of his history with acknowledgments of the sources,* whence he had gathered his materials. After

*"The Rev. Mr. Greenwood formed the design of preparing a memoir, at the suggestion, I believe, of Mr. Southey. He had collected

an eloquent tribute to the other founders of the States ; to their motives, policy, and personal qualities ; to their fervent piety, calm wisdom, and unwavering constancy ; to their love of learning, their thirst of liberty, and irreproachable lives, he adds,

“ Among these names, that sense of justice, which eventually triumphs over temporary prejudice and wrong, has already placed that of ROGER WILLIAMS. Long misunderstood and misrepresented, he was excluded from his appropriate place among the chief founders and benefactors of New England. The early historians, Morton, Mather, Hubbard, and even Winthrop, spoke harshly of his character. His principles, both political and religious, were offensive to the first generations ; and it is not strange, that he was viewed and treated as a fanatical heresiarch in religion, and a factious disturber of the state.

“ Later writers have treated his memory with more respect ; and we might quote many honorable testimonies to his principles and his character. But no extended memoir of his life has ever before been published. It would not be difficult to assign reasons for this neglect. The want of materials, and the contradictory accounts of various writers, were sufficient to deter his friends from the undertaking, and a lingering prejudice against him prevented others. The attention of some able writers has, nevertheless, been drawn to the subject.” — pp. ix, x.

There were undeniably great and generous qualities in the character of Roger Williams, which, even while his peculiarities were exciting opposition and alarm, conciliated for him the highest personal regard. “ In Salem,” writes Dr. Bentley, in his History of that place, “ every body loved Mr. Williams. He had no personal enemies under any pretence. All valued his friendship.” — “ And he was never forsaken by the friends he had ever gained. He had always a tender conscience, and feared every offence against moral truth. He breathed the purest devotion. He was a friend of human nature ; forgiving, upright, and pious.” — And to the same purpose, Governor Hutchinson, in his History of Masachu-

many valuable materials, among which were between twenty and thirty unpublished letters, copied from the originals, which were kindly lent to him by the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, and which he placed at my disposal.” — “ Besides Mr. Greenwood, my thanks are especially due to the venerable Nestor of Providence, Moses Brown, and to John Howland, Esq.” — *Preface*, p. xi.

setts, concludes a narration both of his opinions and their consequences,* "After all that has been said of the actions or tenets of this person while he was in Massachusetts, it ought for ever to be remembered to his honor, that for forty years after, instead of showing any revengeful resentment against the colony, from which he had been banished, he seems to have been continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence, giving them notice from time to time, not only of every motion of the Indians, over whom he had very great influence, but also of the unjust designs of the English within the new colony, of which he had himself been the founder and governor, and continued the patron." His love of liberty, civil and religious, and his courage in maintaining it, though it justly incurred the reproach of being schismatical, has given him a place among republican heroes. But his disinterestedness, exhibited amidst all his straits and poverty; his perfect uprightness in his dealings with the Indians, scrupulously refusing any advantage, which their ignorance or his influence might have given him; his magnanimity in conferring favors, when revenge for injuries was in his power; his faithful and successful interpositions for Massachusetts after it had banished him from its limits; his forbearance, when his undeniable claims were questioned or denied; his generous confidence in Governor Winthrop, and their unbroken friendship, honorable alike to both;—these and kindred qualities, of which his history gives abundant evidence, entitle him to our veneration and love, as among the most generous of mankind. It is comparatively easy to exhibit virtues of this class amidst prosperity and honor; in the high places of dignity, and when all men are speaking well of us. But to be faithful to them, as he was, amidst injustice and reproach, under the pressure of want and the irritations of persecution, is a glory attained, perhaps attainable, by few.

Very little, it appears, is known of the early life of Roger Williams. From some traditions, collected no earlier than 1775, it is believed, that he was born in Wales in 1599. He was probably of humble parentage, but appears while a youth to have attracted the attention of that eminent lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who persuaded his parents to entrust their son to his care; under whose patronage he was educated at one of the English Universities, and commenced the study

* Hutchinson's History, Vol. I. p. 42.

of law, which he soon relinquished for the more congenial pursuits of theology. He received orders in the Episcopal Church; but with the same dread of oppression and thirst of liberty, which actuated others, he resolved to forsake the land of his fathers, and with his wife, who was the cherished companion of his fortunes, prosperous and adverse, for half a century, arrived in Boston, February 5, 1631. His eldest child, a daughter, was born two years afterwards, at Plymouth; and his eldest son, to whom his father gave the name of Providence, was born in Providence in 1638; said to have been the first English male child born in that place.

Of his first term of ministry in Salem, and his Puritanic, or rather schismatical zeal; of his deep and unrelenting hatred of Episcopacy; his refusal to unite with the churches in Boston, unless they would declare their repentance for having communed with the Church of England before they came to America; of his differences with his colleague, Mr. Skelton, and his consequent removal to Plymouth; of the opposition excited by his opinions there, and the influence exerted by Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, to procure his dismissal thence; of his return after the short period of two years to his ministry in Salem, where upon the death of Mr. Skelton he became sole pastor of the church; of the effect speedily produced by his peculiar sentiments and conduct,—specially by his maintaining that offences against the first table of the law ought not to be punished unless they disturbed the public peace; that an oath should not be tendered to an unregenerate man; that a Christian should not pray with the unregenerate; that a man should not give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat; and more specially still, by his refusal to commune with his own church, and even, as Hutchinson declares, with his own wife, unless they would separate from the polluted and antichristian churches of New England;—of the sentence of banishment passed upon him by the General Court, who afterwards, upon his persisting to preach in disobedience of their orders and violation of his engagements, had resolved to seize his person and send him back to England; of his escape from their hands, by the friendly counsel of Winthrop, to the neighbourhood of Narraganset Bay; of his exposures and sufferings there; of the foundation he laid of the town, which in grateful commemoration of the divine goodness he named Providence, and

thence of the whole colony of Rhode Island, of which he is justly to be honored as the father and patron, — the volume before us presents ample and highly interesting details; for which, as among the best authorities cited by the author, we may also refer to the "Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence," ascribed to the pen of the venerable Governor Hopkins, and published among the valuable collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It is gratifying to find, that personal animosity had little, if any share in procuring the sentence of banishment against the subject of this Memoir. "Towards Mr. Williams," says Professor Knowles, "there was a general sentiment of respect. Governor Winthrop was a generous friend to him throughout his life." Mr. Cotton, the minister of Boston, and perhaps the most influential man in the commonwealth, while he sincerely thought his opinions and his influence dangerous, had no private enmity against him; and it is asserted by Dr. Bentley, "that, had Winthrop been at liberty to confer with Governor Endicott, and had not been deterred by the competition of Boston and Salem, Williams might have lived and died at Salem." Of the esteem in which he was held, no surer evidence can be given than the fact, that he was accompanied or soon afterwards joined by several of his flock, who voluntarily shared with him his exile and his sufferings. These sufferings were exceedingly great. It was in January 1635-6 that he left Salem. His journey was on foot, through a wilderness. He had no dwelling at Seekonk for his shelter, and as yet knew not what awaited him from the natives. In a letter written thirty-five years afterwards to his friend Major Mason,* in which, with great simplicity and devout thankfulness, he looks back upon the way, through which God had led him, he says, "When I was unkindly driven from my house and land and wife and children in the midst of a New England winter, that ever-honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me, for many high and heavenly and public ends, to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay. I took his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God, and waving all other motions, I steered my course from Salem, though in winter snow, which I feel

* This interesting letter, containing a full detail of Mr. Williams's history, was first published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, and will be found at length in the *Appendix to this work*.

yet, unto these parts, wherein I may say that I have seen the face of God."—"I was sorely tossed for one fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." And in another letter, still referring to the same generous friend, "It pleased the Most High to direct my steps into this Bay, by the loving private advice of the ever-honored soul, Mr. John Winthrop, the grandfather, who, though he were carried with the stream for my banishment"—(that is, as Mr. Knowles well remarks, believed that the public peace required it, and that the personal interests of Mr. Williams might be best promoted by it), "yet he tenderly loved me to his last breath."

The companions of Williams are entitled to their full share in the glory of this enterprise. Their faithful and heroic friendship is worthy of all praise. Their names, with those of others who afterwards joined them, are given by Governor Hopkins, in the history, to which we have already referred; and with him, we admire their sufferings and their patience, and "wonder how they could possibly live, quite destitute of every necessary; having no magazine of provisions or stores of any kind; no domestic animal to assist them in their labor, or afford them sustenance; nothing to help themselves with, but their hands; nothing to depend on but God's goodness, their own endeavours, and the charity of savages." The extremity of such a condition is well expressed in the simple lines that follow.

"Nor house, nor hut, nor fruitful field,
Nor lowing herd, nor bleating flock,
Or garden, that might comfort yield,
No cheerful, early-crowing cock.

"No friend to help, no neighbour nigh,
Nor healing medicine to restore;
No mother's hand to close the eye,
Alone, forlorn, and most extremely poor."

In no account of Roger Williams could be justly omitted his conduct and influence with the Indians, with whom, from his first arrival at Narraganset Bay, he was brought into near and most perilous connexion. His intercourse with them exhibits some of the noblest traits of his character, to which his biographer has done full justice, as they are developed in the course of the narrative. "He understood the Indians," says Dr. Bentley, "better than any man of his age." Of their

language he published a Key,* which, besides its philological merit, proves his accurate knowledge of their customs, manners, and religion. In all his transactions with them, and they were many and important, he exhibited an undaunted courage, sustained always by a trust in God, and a good conscience, which lifted him above all fear; an inflexible integrity, and a most generous regard to their rights and welfare. With his keen insight into their characters he could manage them wisely, and sometimes take them, as says the Apostle, in their own craftiness. But he scorned any mean or unworthy advantage. He fairly paid for all the land he received from them, and sometimes they were willing to sell to him from mere kindness, what they refused to part with to others. In fine, from the day of his coming among them to his death he was their wise counsellor and friend.

Of his courage in facing danger, not less than of his generous mediation with the Narragansets in favor of Massachusetts, though it had banished him, the following passage in his letter to Major Mason, already quoted, is an example. It is due to him, says his biographer, to quote his own simple and energetic words.

“Upon letters received from the Governor and Council at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavours to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequods and Mohegans against the English, (excusing the not sending of company and supplies by the haste of the business) the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to

*The title-page of this book is in these words; “A Key into the Language of America, or an help, to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England; together with brief Observations of the Customs, Manners, and Worship of the aforesaid Natives in Peace and War, in Life and Death. On all which are added Spiritual Observations, general and particular, by the Author, of chief and special use upon all occasions to all the English inhabiting those Parts, yet pleasant and profitable to the View of all Men.”

pieces the Pequods' negotiation and design; and to make and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansets and Mohegans against the Pequods."—p. 128.

And of the confidence reposed in him, both by the Indians and the government of Massachusetts, Winthrop relates in his Journal a remarkable proof. It seems that the treaty, then proposed, was written in English, and, as it was found difficult to make the Indians understand the articles perfectly, "we agreed," says Winthrop, "to send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret to them." "This measure was probably adopted," remarks our author, "at the suggestion of the Indians, who knew that Mr. Williams was their friend, and would neither himself deceive them, nor connive at any attempt at deception on the part of others. It is a proof also of the integrity of the Massachusetts rulers, that they were willing to submit their proceedings to the scrutiny of a man, whom they knew to be a steadfast advocate of the rights of the Indians."

Into the causes of the banishment of Mr. Williams it is not necessary to enter. At the present day, when just notions of religious liberty have extensively prevailed, they will be deemed of course utterly insufficient; and nothing but a full consideration of the condition of our Puritan fathers and the dangers of an infant colony, as well as of the general spirit of the times, will protect them from the charge of oppressive cruelty. The magistracy regarded his opinions as dangerous to the state; and the clergy opposed them as tending to schism. The reasons of the prosecution are given by Governor Winthrop in his Journal with his characteristic fairness. And we know not how the result can be more impartially exhibited than in the following remarks of our author.

"We may express the verdict, which, at this distant period, all calm and fair minds will, it is presumed, pronounce: that Mr. Williams was unnecessarily scrupulous about some minor points of conduct and of policy, though these scruples may be candidly traced to the agitated condition of the public mind in England and America, and to his own delicacy of conscience; that he may have erred in maintaining his principles with too lit-

tle of that meek patience, which he who would effect a reform in the opinions of men must possess, though candor will admit, that the constant opposition which Mr. Williams encountered might have irritated a gentler spirit than his; that his behaviour to the civil rulers was not indecorous, unless a firm opposition to what he considered as wrong in their measures might be viewed as indecorum, for he yielded to their authority, in every point which his conscience would allow; that his private character was pure; and that the cause of his banishment may be found, in his distinguishing doctrine, *that the civil power has no control over the religious opinions of men*; a doctrine which no man, in our country, would, at the present day, venture to deny. Mr. Williams was banished, therefore, because his spirit was too elevated and enlarged for the community in which he lived. Like Aristides, the prominent excellence of his character was the cause of his banishment.

"But the same impartial verdict will do justice to the Pilgrims. They felt it to be not merely their right, but their duty, to protect their theocracy from persons, whose opinions or conduct, in their judgment, disturbed its peace or endangered its purity. They believed, that the sword of the magistrate was to be used for the defence of the church, as in the days of Moses and Aaron. To deny this principle, was to subvert the foundation of their civil and religious institutions; and it became, in their opinion, a measure of self-preservation, and of paramount duty to God, to expel Mr. Williams from the colony. That the grounds of this measure were wrong, will not now be disputed; but we ought to rejoice, that we can ascribe it to a sincere, though misdirected, desire to uphold the church, and to advance the honor of God. Were these excellent men now alive, they would be foremost in lamenting their own error, and in vindicating those principles of religious liberty, for which Mr. Williams incurred their displeasure.

"And we may on this occasion, as on many others, observe the wonderful wisdom of Divine Providence, which so controls the mistakes and sins of men, as to accomplish the most important results. The banishment of Mr. Williams contributed in the end to his own happiness and fame. Another colony was established, and thus civilization and religion were diffused. And we shall soon see how this event, though springing from wrong views, and producing much immediate suffering, was the means, a few years after, of that interposition of Mr. Williams between the colonists and the Indians, which apparently rescued the whites throughout New England from total destruction."—pp. 79–81.

As an instance of the jealousy, which Mr. Williams entertained of clerical usurpation in every form, we are told, that he expressed some apprehension of the tendencies of a meeting which several ministers had established for the purpose of mutual improvement and consultation respecting their duties and the interests of religion. This meeting was no other than that, which is now called the Boston Association, the members of which still meet, as then, once a fortnight at each other's houses. They, who are familiar with its history and proceedings, might possibly smile at the fears of Mr. Williams, "that it might grow in time to a presbytery of superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties." It is well added by Winthrop that these fears were without cause; but it must not be forgotten, that they were not peculiar to Mr. Williams, whose colleague, Mr. Skelton, was even more jealous than himself; and that it was altogether natural for those who had made costly sacrifices to escape from the dominion of the Lords Bishops, to take special heed not to be entangled in the more grievous yoke of "the Lords Brethren." Could the departed spirits of these worthies be permitted to mingle with the Boston Association at the present day, and especially with the services of "the Fifth Day [Thursday] Lecture," we should not despair of relieving them from every remaining fear of this sort, for the present and all coming time.

The great principle, for which Roger Williams contended, and to his intrepid defence of which his biographer ascribes at once his banishment and his immortal fame, was **LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE**. He held, that the civil power had no jurisdiction over the conscience; and, according to the memorable sentence of Governor Hopkins, quoted in the title-page of this Memoir, "Roger Williams justly claims the honor of having been the first legislator in the world, in its latter ages, that fully and effectually provided for and established a full, free, and absolute liberty of conscience." On this broad principle, the colony, of which he was the founder, was established; and to this unless we should insist upon the doubtful charges against the State in relation to Roman Catholics and Quakers,* it has continued faithful

* These charges against Rhode Island, as being violations of her professed principle, and as an evidence of inconsistency in Roger

ever since. All forms of religion have been respected, and persons of all denominations have been called without distinction to offices of civil trust. A state of freedom, however, at that time so novel and unparalleled, so signal an exception moreover to the neighbouring governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts, was attended with its evils as well as benefits. It invited many thither, whose tenderness of conscience was among the least of their virtues, and who probably expected under such a government the liberty of doing wrong, as well as of thinking or acting right. We are told, that when David first escaped from the persecutions of Saul, instructed, as he had been by the prophet, of the throne that awaited him, "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and that there were with him about four hundred men." Of these, doubtless, there were some of whose presence or allegiance the young monarch found no reason to boast; and whom he would gladly have sent back to the places whence they came. The like result might be anticipated in all similar cases; and Roger Williams did not escape the common lot of republican leaders or public benefactors. He had to encounter the selfishness and ambition of some; the ignorance, distrust, and ingratitude of others. He had reason, with a patient sufferer of old, to request the prayers of his friends, that he might be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for he found that all had not faith, or even honesty. In the following letter of remonstrance addressed to the town of Providence in 1654, not twenty years after his banishment, he alludes, in dignified but affecting terms, natural to a great man when speaking of his personal wrongs, to his sacrifices, and to the suspicion and ingratitude he had encountered from some of the people.

Williams, are fully considered in the course of this work. The Hon. Samuel Eddy, for many years Secretary of State in Rhode-Island, appears to have given to the subject a careful investigation. His official familiarity with the public documents, and the known candor of his judgment, give to his opinions on all such questions a high authority. And those who feel any interest or remaining doubts upon the subject may refer to the satisfactory summary of the evidence given by Mr. Knowles in the 27th chapter of the Memoir.

“Well beloved friends and neighbours,

“I am like a man in a great fog. I know not well how to steer. I fear to run upon the rocks at home, having had trials abroad. I fear to run quite backward, as men in a mist do, and undo all that I have been a long time undoing myself to do, viz. to keep up the name of a people, a free people, not enslaved to the bondages and iron yokes of the great (both soul and body) oppressions of the English and barbarians about us, nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot into these wild parts, and have maintained a chargeable and hazardous correspondence with the barbarians, and spent almost five years' time with the state of England, to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of the root of being the stepping-stone of so many families and towns about us, but grief, and sorrow, and bitterness? I have been charged with folly for that freedom and liberty which I have always stood for; I say liberty and equality, both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Moshassuck, and afterward Pawtuxet, (which were mine own as truly as any man's coat upon his back,) without reserving to myself a foot of land, or an inch of voice in any matter, more than to my servants and strangers. It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people; that I have foolishly parted with town and colony advantages, by which I might have preserved both town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us. This, and ten times more, I have been censured for, and at this present am called a traitor, by one party, against the state of England, for not maintaining the charter and the colony; and it is said that I am as good as banished by yourselves, and that both sides wished that I might never have landed, that the fire of contention might have had no stop in burning. Indeed, the words have been so sharp between myself and some lately, that at last I was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints if I once began to complain, who was unfortunately fetched and drawn from my employment, and sent to so vast distance from my family, to do your work of a high and costly nature, for so many days and weeks and months together, and there left to starve, or steal, or beg, or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favor to borrow one while, and to work another, and thereby to pay your debts there, and to come over with your credit and honor, as an agent from you, who had, in your name, grappled with the agents and friends of all your enemies round about you.” — pp. 266, 267.

This letter, it should be observed, was written soon after Mr. Williams's return from England, whither he had gone at the earnest request of his fellow-townsmen to obtain from the government a confirmation of their original charter, and to protect the colony from the factious measures of Mr. Codrington. He consented with reluctance to this undertaking, as it compelled him to leave at home a large family, consisting of a wife and six children, with no means but those derived from his industry; and it is an interesting fact, which should be stated in explanation of a part of this letter, that while he was serving his colony in England, he was obliged to provide for his own support there, by engaging in the instruction of youth. "It pleased the Lord," writes he, in a letter to his friend Winthrop, "to call me for some time to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, *Mr. Milton*, for the Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. I taught two young gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, and constant talk, &c."

The Mr. Milton, thus familiarly referred to, was no less than the immortal author of "*Paradise Lost*," who was then Cromwell's secretary of state; and Mr. Williams, besides the official connexion into which he was brought, was naturally attracted, observes his biographer, to a communion with the lofty spirit of Milton; by his love of liberty, by the eloquence of his writings, and the poverty as well as persecution he endured in defence of it.

There is another memorable letter of Mr. Williams, which may not in justice to him be omitted, because it explains with preciseness his principles of civil and religious liberty, and refutes the charge, which had been urged against them as tending to licentiousness, or at least as unfriendly to civil order. Among the individuals, to whom we have already referred, who under the pretence of liberty of conscience would have escaped from all law, there was one, who sent a paper to the town of Providence, affirming that "it was blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal." In other words, that no offender against the

peace of the commonwealth, or the rights of individuals should be brought to justice. In reply to this, Mr. Williams, addressing his "Loving friends and neighbours of Providence," thus writes;—

"That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case. There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges: that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write, that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Light, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

"I remain studious of your common peace and liberty.

"ROGER WILLIAMS."

pp. 280, 281.

Among the writings of Mr. Williams, that in which he has illustrated these principles of civil and religious liberty is probably the ablest and most important. It is quaintly entitled

"The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, discussed in a Conference between Truth and Peace." *

Mr. Knowles in passing an encomium on the ability, learning, and eloquence, displayed by Mr. Williams in this work, claims for him the honor of being the first writer in modern times, "who clearly maintained the absolute right of every man to a full liberty in religious concerns." This honor has been lately assigned to Jeremy Taylor, of whose celebrated work, "The liberty of Prophesying," his biographer, Bishop Heber, says, "It is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine, which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then by every sect alike regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty."

As however "The Liberty of Prophesying" was published in 1647, three years after the Bloody Tenet, the claims of priority, so far as he contests them with Jeremy Taylor, are doubtless to be yielded to Williams. But in the "Utopia" by Sir Thomas More, written more than one hundred and twenty years before either of the works just mentioned, there is a passage on the same subject so remarkable in itself, and which, as Sir James Mackintosh observes in his Life of that great man, "has been so little considered in the history of toleration," that we shall insert it here at length.

"Utopus, the founder of the state, made a law, that every man might be of whatever religion he pleased, and might

* The origin of this work is sufficiently curious; and, as it explains the title, we here copy Professor Knowles's account of it from the text. "A person, who was confined in Newgate on account of his religious opinions, wrote a paper against persecution. 'Having not the use of pen and ink, he wrote these arguments in sheets of paper brought to him by the woman, his keeper, from a friend in London, as the stopples of his milk-bottle. In such paper written with milk, nothing will appear; but the way of reading it by fire being known to this friend, who received the papers, he transcribed and kept together the papers.'

"This essay was sent to Mr. Cotton of Boston. He wrote a reply, of which Mr. Williams's book is an examination. Its title, the 'Bloody Tenet,' is a fanciful reference to the circumstance, that the original paper of the prisoner was written with milk. 'These arguments against such persecution, and the answer pleading for it, written (as love hopes) from godly intentions, hearts, and hands, yet in a marvelous different style and manner, — the arguments against persecution in milk, the answer to it (as I may say) in blood.' " — p. 360.

endeavor to draw others to it by force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways; but those who used reproaches or violence in their attempts, were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

"This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he said suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heat in these matters, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. As for those, who so far depart from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance without a wise and over-ruling Providence, the Utopians never raise them to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds; yet they do not punish such men, because they lay it down as a ground, that a man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts; so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions among them, which, being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians." A beautiful and conclusive reason, remarks his biographer, which, when it was used for the first time, as it probably was in Utopia, must have been drawn from so deep a sense of the value of sincerity, as of itself to prove that he who thus employed it was sincere. "These unbelievers are not allowed to argue before the common people; but they are suffered and even encouraged to dispute in private with their priests and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of these mad opinions by having reason laid before them."

This is indeed a most remarkable passage from Sir Thomas More, written as it was under the dark and tyrannical reign of Henry the Eighth. It anticipates every thing that is included in the principles of civil and religious liberty at the present day. And, according to Sir James Mackintosh, "it may be doubted whether some extravagances in other parts of Utopia were not introduced to cover such passages as the above, by enabling the writer to call the whole a mere sport of wit, and thus exempt him from the perilous responsibility of having maintained such doctrines seriously."

Even Mr. Locke, than whom no man of any age has asserted more clearly the rights of conscience, and no man been more reproached by the bigots both of church and state for his lib-

erality, in his celebrated Essay concerning Toleration, lays it down as an axiom, "Those are not to be tolerated, who deny the being of a God. For," reasons he, "promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an Atheist. The taking away of a God, though even in thought, dissolves all."

This exclusion of Atheists from the pale of Toleration has been objected to Mr. Locke as inconsistent with his own great principle. But let it be considered, as he adds, "that they who by their atheism destroy all religion, can have no pretence of religion, whereupon to challenge the privilege of a toleration." The very idea of toleration supposes some religion, or conscientious scruples concerning it to be tolerated. The terms, in which under the freest constitutions the rights of toleration are secured, always suppose a God to be worshipped. "All men," says the law of Rhode-Island under the first charter, "may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one *in the name of his God.*" Again, "Let the Lambs of the most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God for ever." And the common expression in the constitution of other states, securing liberty to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, imply by the very terms a belief in God, as the object of worship. In fine, toleration regards some form of faith, some scruples of conscience; and these we can hardly concede to atheism, which, to repeat the significant expression of Mr. Locke, "dissolves all."

A recent prosecution in this state for blasphemy, has excited a fresh interest on this great subject of toleration, which might ordinarily be numbered with the settled and hackneyed topics. We of this community have witnessed the melancholy, the heart-withering spectacle of an aged man, once a minister of the Gospel; of one who had passed far beyond the period of life, when passion or vanity might be pleaded in palliation of infirmity; and whose hoary head might admonish him, that his remaining years were few, — called to answer to the tribunals of his country for blasphemous publications against the being and government of God, and the person and character of Jesus Christ, not more revolting for their profaneness than for their odious and indescribable obscenity. Of the enormity of offences of this nature it is impossible for any reflecting mind to entertain a doubt.

That they are legitimate subjects for the interposition of the civil arm is no less certain. It is not, let it be remembered, the holding of such opinions, — for that every man must answer to God and his own conscience, — but the malicious utterance and propagation of such opinions, that the law contemplates. It holds a man responsible, not for his principles, be they good or bad, true or false, but for his acts. And certainly, within the whole range of human offences, we know of none, estimated by their influence upon society, more criminal in themselves, more deeply to be abhorred for their heartless malignity, and allowing less of our compassion for the offender. He, who, in the dark hour of temptation, sins against his own convictions, and yields himself to dishonesty, to intemperance, or any sensual excess, violates indeed the laws of God, and wounds his own soul. But the mischief of his iniquity may not reach far. He may wrong, without intending to corrupt, his neighbour; and possibly, even in settled habits of transgression, he pays some homage to truth and virtue by deploring the weakness of his moral principle, and by his acknowledgments of the shame. But the man, that propagates infidelity, that treats with open insult things sacred, does what he can to corrupt the world. He labors to overthrow the barriers that protect society; to rob his fellow-creatures at once of their law and their hope. He, who for his hunger or his avarice plunders me of my wealth, still leaves me that, with which, if I be only faithful to myself, though having nothing, I possess all things. The murderer, who takes my life, still leaves unhurt my undying soul. He has no power, nor does he seek it, over that which is better than life. But he, who undermines my faith in God, or in Christ, and my hope of immortality, takes from me my only effectual motives to virtue and restraints from sin, my solace in sorrow, and my peace in death. He leaves me without principle to the solicitations of every sin; he exposes me impotent and defenceless to the sins of others. Infidelity has no strength for the day of trial; no comfort for the night of sorrow; no spiritual gladness in the life that is, and no prospects for a life to come. It makes void the promises of God. It annuls that precious covenant to the widow, — “Thy Maker is thy husband, the Holy One is thy friend.” From the orphan it takes the blessed assurance, “Doubtless thou art our father.” And instead of those words of peace

from a compassionate Saviour, "Let not your hearts be troubled; ye believe in God and ye believe in me," it leaves its miserable victims without hope and without God in the world.

Of the legality of such prosecutions, whatever diversity of opinion may be entertained of their expediency, there can be no question. In various instances within our own country, as well as in Great Britain, blasphemy and open insult of things sacred have been the subjects of exemplary punishment. Unhappily in England prosecutions of this class have been mingled with questions of party and political excitement; so that the indignation, that might justly have been felt against impiety, has been exchanged for sympathy with supposed suffering in the cause of liberty. By the highest judicial authorities in various parts of the United States, blasphemy has been adjudged and punished as an offence against the laws of the commonwealth. In an able article of a recent English journal, in which the writer undertakes to exhibit the "Relation of Christianity to civil government in the United States of America," several instances are adduced, in which such judgments have been pronounced. Among others is a case, which occurred in 1824, when the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, upon an indictment for blasphemy, founded on an act passed in 1700, thus decided:

"It has long been firmly settled, that blasphemy against the Deity generally, or an attack on the Christian religion indirectly, for the purpose of exposing its doctrines to ridicule and contempt, is indictable and punishable by law as a temporal offence." "Even if Christianity were not a part of the law of the Commonwealth, it is the popular religion of the country; an insult on which would be indictable, as directly tending to disturb the public peace. Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law [of Pennsylvania]; not Christianity, founded upon any particular religious tenets, not Christianity, with an established Church, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."

"Again, no society can tolerate a wilful and spiteful attempt to subvert its religion, any more than it would to break down its laws; a general, malicious, and deliberate intent to overthrow Christianity, general Christianity.

The species of offence may be classed under three general heads. 1. Denying the being and providence of God. 2. Contumelious reproaches of Jesus Christ; profane and malevolent scoffing at the Scriptures, or exposing any part of them to contempt or ridicule; and 3. Certain immoralities tending to subvert all religion and morality, which are the foundations of all governments. Without these restraints no free government could long exist. It is liberty run mad to declaim against the punishment of these offences, or to assert that the punishment is hostile to the spirit and genius of our government."

In the Supreme Court of New-York in 1811, on a trial for blasphemy, the Chief Justice said; "The authorities show, that blasphemy against God, contumelious reproaches and profane ridicule of Christ, or the Holy Scriptures, which are equally treated as blasphemy, are offences punishable at common law, whether uttered by words or writings, — because they tend to corrupt the morals of the people, and to destroy good order." "Nothing could be more offensive to the virtuous part of the community, or more injurious to the tender morals of the young, than to declare such profanity lawful. It would go to confound all distinction between things sacred and profane. For, to use the words of one of the greatest oracles of human wisdom, Lord Bacon, 'Profane scoffing doth by little and little destroy the reverence of religion,'—and again, 'Two principal causes have I known of Atheism, curious controversies and *profane scoffing*.'"

Chancellor Kent, in the convention of New-York, assembled, in 1821, to revise the constitution of that state, in defending a decision of the Supreme Court, which had been assailed as dangerous to liberty of conscience, said; "Such blasphemy is an outrage upon public decorum; and, if sanctioned by the tribunals of the country would shock the moral sense of the country and degrade the character of a Christian people." "The law, as applied to correct such depravity, is the application of common reason and natural justice to the security of the peace and good order of society."

The former Vice-President of the United States, Tompkins, who presided in that convention expressed the same opinions. "The law does not undertake to uphold any

particular sect; but it does interpose and rightfully, as the guardian of public morals, to suppress those outrages on public opinion and public feeling, which would reduce the community to a state of barbarism, corrupt its purity, and debase its mind."

And, finally, our own Chief-Justice Parsons in one of his ablest and most elaborate decisions in an ecclesiastical case declares ;

"Our law certainly provides for the punishment of many breaches of the law of Christianity,—not for the purpose of propping up the Christian religion, but because those breaches are offences against the laws of the State; because they corrupt the morals of the people and destroy good order."

It is evident, therefore, that the wilful teaching or publishing of blasphemy or obscenity is "an iniquity to be punished by the judges," not as an offence against God, who vindicates his own laws, but as revolting to the moral feelings and injurious to the order of society. And we rejoice, that there is a majesty in the law to brand with its own peculiar and indelible stigma such offences, and to compel them who acknowledge no other power, not even the God that made them, to do her homage. Yet it were to be wished, that the expediency or ultimate benefits of such prosecutions were as unquestionable as their legality. In England, as we have seen, such prosecutions have so often been mingled with charges of a libellous or seditious character,—in the case of Thomas Paine in 1793, and more recently of Carlisle,—that they had little other effect than to give notoriety to the publications, and to unite the abettors of infidelity with the partisans of liberty in sympathy with the offender, as well as in hostility to the government. Even in our own country, it is to be feared, that crude notions of freedom; the sympathy naturally felt for almost any criminal suffering under his punishment, however just; the bad eminence given to the reviler of religion by the very disgrace he suffers; the curiosity excited towards his publications even in honest and religious minds; and the various bad passions, easily put in motion on such occasions by the unprincipled in the name and under the pretence of liberty,—these and other causes may defeat the benefits of such prosecutions,

or make them positively injurious. Before they can work all the good intended, men must be taught, that liberty of conscience is not the liberty to do wrong, but exemption from compulsion to think right; that the law permits to no man the use of his liberty to the injury of the rights of others. And it speaks here with the authority of the gospel of Christ, which teaches us that true liberty is in the service of God and men; which, in conferring the most glorious freedom, demands, that we employ it not as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. It inseparably connects the privilege of personal freedom with the strictest regard to social obligations. "Ye have been called to liberty," says the Apostle; "only use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another."

We are aware, that the subject to which we have adverted is one of difficulty, and we have approached it with diffidence, knowing the diversity of sentiment among considerate and religious men. It might be wished that all prosecutions for blasphemy, and especially for obscenity, which is vileness without a shadow of excuse, might be effectual to the terror of the evil doer. The man, who reviles the religion of his country, and offends against the decencies of society, though he might scorn the sentence of a spiritual tribunal, and defy the judgment of his God, ought to quail under the inflictions of law, whose glory it is, that, "while the least shall feel her care, neither the greatest nor the worst shall be exempted from her power." Yet there are other guards for truth and virtue than mere law. Public opinion of itself can rebuke even to withering; and for the cause of religion we have no fear. It is the cause of God. However doubtful or inadequate may be the protection of legal sanctions, his faithfulness and omnipotence are its support. He has laid its foundations broad and deep in the soul of man, in his wants, his sorrows, and sins; and every attempt to assail it has only revealed more fully its matchless glory, its everlasting truth, its divine and exhaustless consolations.

But it is time to return to the subject of the Memoir, whose favorite doctrine of Toleration has given opportunity for this, we hope, not inapt digression. There are still several remaining topics belonging to the character of Roger

Williams, which our limits will scarcely allow us to notice. For his peculiar religious opinions; for his baptism in England in the Episcopal Church, of which he was a clergyman; for his re-baptism in Providence and communion for a season with the Baptists there; his pastoral relation to their church and his withdrawing from it three or four months after its establishment; for his strange doubts as to the validity of that ordinance, as last received by him, because not administered by an Apostle; and his yet stranger scruples, at a later period, of the authority of any existing ministry to administer the ordinances, or even to preach the gospel to the impenitent; his refusal to commune with all, except his own wife, and even she not excepted, according to Hutchinson;—for his controversy personally with the Quakers in Newport in 1672,* and afterwards in writing with their leader, the celebrated George Fox; for his supposed relationship and familiar visits while in England to Cromwell, with whom, as well as with Milton, he held much in sympathy; for his characteristic humanity and generosity to the turbulent Gorton; for his labors as a preacher, notwithstanding his schismatical separation from all churches; for his honorable poverty and dependence in his old age upon his children,† and finally, his death in 1683 in his eighty-fourth year;—for these and other interesting details we must refer our readers to the *Memoir* itself.

*To be faithful to his engagement to this debate, from which it would seem, "that George Fox *slily* departed," Mr. Williams rowed in an open boat thirty miles,— "a feat," remarks his biographer, "which few men of 73 years could perform in these degenerate days. He arrived at Newport about midnight. But his health was feeble; and he says, that on the morning of the second day, 'I heartily wished that I might rather have kept my bed, than have gone forth to a whole day's fresh disputes.'"

† "A singular mode," says Dr. Eliot in his Biography, "of showing respect to the memory of this uncommon man, who was poor, and altogether spiritual in his views, is shown by the citizens of Providence. One of the Banks in the city is called Roger Williams Bank." Yet we know not why he, who was the founder of their prosperity, and through life was attentive to the temporal as well as spiritual wants of the colony, should not have his name borne by an institution, which is itself among the fruits, though distant, of his labors.

In concluding this article, we repeat our thanks to Professor Knowles for his impartial and interesting work. But while we heartily concur in his admiration of the generous virtues of the Founder of Rhode-Island, it is impossible to avoid the reflection, that to his peculiar and separating spirit must be ascribed the origin, at least, of his no less remarkable sufferings. It is true,—and the sentiment is ably illustrated by his biographer,—that his banishment was the foundation of a free and flourishing commonwealth. But the manifold wisdom of God in making the errors as well as the wrath of men the occasion of good, must not be pleaded in defence of the errors themselves. A schismatical spirit in religion, though it be redeemed by the noble virtues of Mr. Williams, is an evil spirit. It is precisely that “evil thing,” which holy Scripture condemns as heresy. It is generally accompanied by some peculiar, misshapen notions of religion itself, the joint offspring of a clouded understanding and of a blind devotion to one’s own fantasies. It was this spirit in Mrs. Hutchinson, Sir Harry Vane, and some of Cromwell’s ministers, that plagued and divided families and churches in Old England and New at the very period we have been considering. And it was this spirit in another form, that persuaded even Roger Williams, “whom every body loved,” to forsake his church, to condemn himself to a melancholy, exclusive worship in his own house (accepted, we may not doubt, for its sincerity, but pitied, we must believe, for its error, by the God, to whom it was offered), and, what was worse, to denounce, as unchristian, Winthrop and others, “the excellent of the earth,” who were quite as generous and noble as himself. This wisdom cometh not from above. In the best it works division, and with the most, pride and uncharitableness. The sooner a man or a church, magistrate, minister, or people rid themselves of it, the better. And to him, who being bound desires to be freed, we can recommend no more effectual remedy, than just the peaceful gospel of Jesus Christ, who was separate, but only from sin; who made himself a servant to all, and in whom neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision; but faith that works by love.

ART. VII. — *The Burning of the Ephesian Letters. A Sermon preached in Hollis Street Church, Sunday, 8th Dec. 1833.* By JOHN PIERPONT, Minister of that Church. *Published at the Request of the Congregation.* Boston. Printed by Ford & Damrell. 1834. 8vo. pp. 16.

THE Sermon, of which the title is given above, may be called a truly ingenious discourse; — not ingenious because it is subtle or metaphysical, or displays great skill in technical divinity, or throws a cloud of words over a simple truth, or labors to make a truth out of a palpable error, — but because it offers an original, and yet perfectly natural, allowable, and unforced application of a portion of Scripture history to circumstances of the present day, and brings an occurrence of Apostolic times to bear, at first with an almost imperceptible, but afterwards with a powerful and singular force on practices of our own age.

Mr. Pierpont's text is from Acts xix. 19, 20. "*Many also of them who used curious arts, brought their books together, and burned them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.*" After a few explanatory remarks, concerning the nature of the books thus offered and burnt, which were probably rolls, containing "the mystical signs, figures, and characters used by sorcerers and magicians in their unholy rites," and an estimate of their value in our currency, which is stated to be "more than sixty thousand dollars," the preacher goes on to answer the questions, Why was this sacrifice demanded or accepted, — why was this waste of means, — why this destruction of property, the proceeds of which might have been laid out in objects of charity and the promotion of the new faith? He does this in the form of a discussion, which may be supposed to have arisen between one of the Ephesian converts, and the Apostle who had converted him, — the convert being not yet well imbued with Christian principles, and therefore not very willing to burn his valuable books. The discussion is carried on with ability on both sides. The neophyte is made to say about all that could be said in favor of saving his books from the flames, and the Apostle still

answers and confutes him with grave and solid argument, not unadorned with poetical illustration.

"But what is the purpose of exhibiting the argument, or imagined argument, now?" — it may be asked by those who have not read the discourse, — "and what is the object of introducing such a discussion into a modern pulpit; what, in short, is the drift and end of the sermon?"

The fact is, then, as will be perceived at once by those who do read the discourse, that its design is to promote the temperance reform; that it is a *temperance sermon*, though we are not aware that the word temperance is used in the whole course of it; that it is an appeal to the dealers in spirituous liquors, against their traffic, though neither spirituous liquors nor the dealers in them are named once in it, from beginning to end. If there was a call and an obligation on the Ephesian convert, after his reception of Christian truth, to come forward and manfully burn his heathen incantations, cost what they might, — just so, is the conclusion to which the preacher would lead us, is there now a call and an obligation on dealers in spirituous liquors, in view of what is now known of their pernicious effects, to forsake their trade, let the sacrifice be ever so great and difficult.

One point in this supposed discussion we must find room to present in the preacher's words. The convert, though driven from several positions, is represented as still continuing the struggle, and offers at last, what seems to be considered by both parties, the most weighty objection.

"'Yet,' says the owner of the books of curious art, 'these books are the implements of my trade. By them I get my bread. The use of them is the only art I know. They are my capital in business; and *I cannot afford to make the sacrifice.* Besides, many worthy Ephesians are engaged in kindred employments, and are supported by them. The artisans, who convert skins into parchment for these books, are, many of them, respectable citizens, and are ready, like their fellow-craftsman, the tanner of Joppa, to show hospitalities to an Apostle. Shall they be thrown out of their employment? The patient and pains-taking scribes, who earn their bread by copying these volumes, — shall they be thrown out of theirs? Will the Jew of Tarsus deign to be reminded by some future Jew of Venice, that

"You take my life
When you do take the means by which I live?"' — pp. 10, 11.

We would ask attention to the Apostle's answer.

" 'These,' replies the Apostle, 'are serious considerations. The objections they imply have been fairly and forcibly proposed by you, and I will try to give, for surely they deserve, a reasonable answer.

" 'The scribes and tanners, as well as their respective vocations, fall under the conditions of all human employments, as they are affected by human improvement. The fashions of this world pass away, and with them must pass away the employments that depend upon those fashions. Even the *useful* arts, which I shall consider first, must retire before arts that are still more useful. The parchment-makers, in whose behalf thou pleadest, have, themselves, to answer for having driven from employment the gatherers of papyrus and bark, and the makers of waxen tablets, which were used by the scribes of ancient times : and the scribes of the present day, who write with a reed on parchment, show no sympathy for their Bœotian brethren, who, sitting around the fount of Helicon, wrote the poems of their Hesiod with a pointed iron upon sheets of lead. Yet the writers of those ponderous volumes have been made to mourn over their occupation gone. As it has been, so it must be. Even those of my own nation, who, ages hence, shall be employed in preparing parchment for *the oracles of God*, and the scribes who live by transcribing *Moses and the Prophets*, shall, in their turn, have their work taken out of their hands by the skill and invention of coming times, — when the dark mines shall have given out their treasures, and fires shall have molten them, and science, truly so called, shall have combined them, and the winds and the waters shall drive them, till, as it were "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye," a copy of "the law" shall be thrown off, for the instruction of the humblest and the poorest, and "the world shall scarcely contain the books that shall be written." Where *then* shall be the scribe, to whose labors we are now indebted for copies of God's word? He will have followed the long train of those, who, in days already gone, have withdrawn before the pressure of the on-moving hosts of improvement and of light. And thus must it ever be, while the good work of advancement is going on in the world. All who are connected, at any time, with the existing order of things, when that order gives place to a better, must give place to those who bring in the better ; or they must themselves take hold of that which is better, and, by making themselves parties in the improvement, become partakers of its blessings : they must leap into the car with the reformers,

"Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale ;"

or, if they will lie back, they must be content to be abandoned.

“But, if this is the condition into which those are thrown, by the eternal and irresistible current of events, who are engaged in good labors, — good, because conducive to enjoyment, and productive of it, what better terms can they ask, or hope, whose vocations, like yours, are necessarily, — not accidentally, and by some perversion from their natural tendencies and real design, but *necessarily, naturally, and for ever productive of evil?* Shall such employments be spared, or those who still pursue them, while those are not spared, who can plead in their own behalf the many benefits that they confer? If the native forest tree, that spreads its grateful shade for the refreshment of the laborer, but yields him no fruit, is cut down, to make room for corn and olive trees, shall the bramble-bush and the thorn boast themselves against the husbandman? Does even heathen philosophy urge a plea for mercy in such cases? or does heathen power regard it? Behold, even now, the Roman Cæsars have thrust the arm of their power into the gloomy groves that darken the islands of the Hyperborean seas, to drag forth to light and to liberty, the victims of Druidical superstition, and to quench the fires, that, for ages, have burned there to consume the innocent or the self-doomed martyr! Will even Roman righteousness consider the claim of the Druid minister, *to be let alone in his business*, priest though he be, and clad in his long white robe, and standing with his golden knife by the altar of his gods? Or, shall the humbler minister, in those horrid rites, be respected in *his* employment, who weaves the osier hurdles, into which the human sacrifice is thrust, that he may be thrown into the fire?” — pp. 11 – 13.

Another illustration is drawn from the abolition of slavery, and the convert is asked whether that reform is to stop, because, if it should prevail, the braiders of the slave-driver's thong, and the forgers of manacles for slaves, must lose their occupation thereby. The argument of the Apostle is thus glowingly concluded.

“And now, ye silversmiths and sorcerers, when ye come round me and ask, “When we have burnt our books and melted down our shrines, where shall we get our bread?” my answer to you all is one. When the gods fail you whose service is pollution, and shame, and wrong, and sin, and whose wages is bondage, — though the chain that holds you to their service is of *gold*, — whose wages is bondage, and degradation, and death, enter as laborers into the fields of Him who is Lord of

all the harvests of the earth, "whose service is perfect freedom," who will never suffer the righteous to be forsaken, or his seed to be begging bread. Doubt not the assurance of him who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. "Every one that hath forsaken houses or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, shall receive a hundred fold *now in this world*, and in the world to come, eternal life." He may not always give "large money" to his servants, as they who crucified his Son gave to the soldiers that guarded his tomb; — and gave it to corrupt them, and to reward them for a lie; but he will give that which money cannot buy, and which, when gained, "neither moth nor rust can corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal." Gold, though a good, is not the greatest good. Was it not in righteous wrath, that your fabled gods granted, to the letter, the prayer of the miserly Phrygian, that whatever he should touch might be turned to gold? The blushing pomegranate, that swung on its bough above him, promising him its cooling acid, he touched, to pluck it, and it was gold! The fountain, that bubbled by his way-side, he stooped to drink from, and, at his touch, 't was gold! Would he not have given all his gold, for permission to dip the tip of his finger in *WATER*, and cool his tongue? Believe me, my Ephesian friends, the riches of righteousness are the only enduring riches. Think not that "gain is always godliness": doubt not that "godliness is great gain." Can you believe that He who made you that you might serve him, and serve him by doing *his* work, will reward you more liberally for *undoing* his work, than for *doing* it? If you have not confidence to enlist under the banners of the Almighty King, who showers his largesses upon each one who joins his hosts; and, holding out the cross of his Son from the heavens, writes under it in sunbeams, "*In this thou shalt conquer*," — is it safe, do ye think, to take up arms against him, and look to his great adversary to give you, day by day, your daily bread? Believe me, my friends, the loss of the books which I counsel you to cast into the fire, will be your incalculable gain. Throw off the garment of unrighteousness. It is the tunic of a centaur, that has been struck through and poisoned by the arrow of a god. Tear it off, ere its venom reach your vitals. Exchange it, exchange it, I entreat you, for a robe of "fine linen, clean and white, — the fine linen that is the righteousness of the saints." In the spirit of a wise thrift, cast away the wages of your present work, and take the gift of God, which is eternal life through Jesus Christ. Nor shall eternal life in the world to come be your only reward. So long as virtue and a good name are bound together in this

world, so long as there is "any virtue or any praise," your sacrifice shall not be forgotten. It shall be wrought into sacred story. It shall be published in every language and through every land. Yea, wherever the *gospel* shall be preached, in the whole world, there shall also this, which ye shall do, be told for a memorial of you: and, when the name of your tutelary goddess shall be a by-word and a scorn; when the moon, whose silver garments *she* impiously affects to wear, shall no more walk in her brightness over the temple that now reposes in her beams, and not one broken column of that temple shall remain, to tell the traveller where it stood, — a voice shall come forth from the heart of Christian Europe, that shall be heard throughout the world, saying, "Behold these early Christians, who nobly sacrificed their private gain upon the altar of the public good!" " * — pp. 14–16.

We should not have made extracts thus long from a single sermon, had not its subject been one of especial interest to our community, occupying much of the public attention, and pressing immediately on the occupations of many of our citizens, worthy citizens too. Nor would the interest of the subject alone, have induced us to draw thus copiously from the pages of this Sermon, had it not been for the novel and happy manner in which the subject is treated, or rather by allusion and inference presented.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. VIII. — *Life and Character of the Rev. Nathan Parker, D. D.*

WHEN one who was destitute of Christian principle has departed from the world, he is wholly lost to it. He leaves no precious remembrances, no cherished image behind him. But the Christian, whether in public or private life, leaves connected with his name the image of his Master, — of him who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. And surviving friends can take pleasure and find profit in the melancholy task of collecting and combining the lineaments of that image.

“* En, ergo, hosce Christianos, publicum commodum suo ipsorum lucro anteponentes! — *Test. Kopp. in loc.*”

There are two advantages resulting from the contemplation of living or recent examples of virtue and piety, which are wanting even in the example of Christ himself. The one is the vivid impression made upon us by the beauty of holiness as exemplified in the every-day life of one with whom we have walked, and conversed, and sympathized. The other is the impulse given to our virtuous efforts by the idea, that what we have seen others do, we may do; what we have seen others become, we may become.

It is usually safer and better to follow the examples of the dead than of the living. A good man's character is seldom properly understood and appreciated until his death. While he is alive, his faults sometimes outweigh and obscure the lustre of his virtues; and sometimes gain to themselves credit and currency by their connexion with splendid virtues. Thus we often see a man's enemies unwilling to take pattern by his virtues, while his friends are unwittingly adopting his faults. But when his eyes are closed in death, and his character becomes the treasure of memory alone, and the subject of cool and calm reflection, his faults and excellencies appear in their true colors, and his example becomes truly valuable.

There are, indeed, some men who have so far conquered sin as to show to the world no evil propensities or habits. But the very faultlessness of such men subjects them, while living, to envy, detraction, and slander. There are some people in the community, who cannot bear to hear such and such men always called righteous, and who will therefore cast doubts upon their sincerity and integrity, and impute their good deeds to wrong motives. But death seals the lips of the slanderer, and refutes his calumnies. And then the righteous man stands forth in the peerless beauty of holiness; and his well-disposed survivors look back upon what he was, to learn what they ought to be.

Again, the example of the dead is better than that of the living on account of its completeness. The living have not, the dead have to the full, tested the strength of their principles and the rectitude of their purposes. The righteous dead have passed through all the necessary vicissitudes of life, and have reflected upon all of them the light of a holy example. Now there may be habits of life which will make a fair show in the world, and gain a man friends and admirers,

which will not give him peace in death or the hope of heaven. There may be principles which will sustain a man through many severe trials, but which will fail him in the near prospect of judgment and eternity. Those must be truly Christian habits of life, on which a man can look back from his death-bed with complacency. Those must be truly Christian principles, which will enable a man to meet death as the messenger of God's love and the herald of immortal life. That must be the genuine armour of God, by which the terrors of the grave are overcome. And when one has gone from us, who maintained to the last moment undisturbed tranquillity, unshaken confidence, unclouded hope, we know that such an one has fought a good fight, has finished a holy course, has kept the true faith. We can safely mark and imitate him as an upright and holy man.

The examples of the holy dead are the property not of persons in similar circumstances, of the same age, rank, or profession, but of mankind in general. For it is *principles*, not the particular manifestations of them, that we are to imitate. The manifestations may vary indefinitely with time, place, and circumstance. But the principles of rectitude and piety are the same for all men everywhere,—are indeed the same for the humblest saint on earth and the loftiest archangel in heaven. And, could we trace the progress of the latter from glory to glory, there would be nothing in his example which we could not propose for the imitation of the former. Every created being stands in the two great relations of a creature and a fellow-creature,—a creature of God, and a fellow-creature of all with whom he is connected. From these two relations results the universal law of love,—love to God and love to every known creature of God; and all the duties that can be incumbent on a created intelligence are so many forms and expressions of this comprehensive, universal love. Thus adoration, prayer, resignation are forms and expressions of love to God; justice, mercy, forbearance, and the like, forms and expressions of love to fellow-creatures. And all duties, thus resulting from the two great relations which every created being sustains, are common to all God's children; and in the discharge of them every child of God, whether human or superhuman, and, if human, whether high or low, whether learned or ignorant, whether in public or private life, whether clergyman or lay-

man, may serve as an example to every other. To be sure the external acts of duty to be performed by different classes of men or beings are different ; but the duties themselves are the same.

Now there is a prevalent mistake with regard to the use to be made of good examples. Some people imagine that, in order to follow the example of any individual, they must see precisely what his external conduct was, and bring theirs into conformity with it. But there is no moral benefit, there may be great guilt, in thus mechanically copying the conduct even of a perfect being ; for it may be our duty, not to do precisely the same thing which it was his duty to do. In order to appropriate a good example to our own use, we must make it the subject of an intellectual process, — we must analyze it, and then apply it. When we have before us the example of a virtuous and pious man, the first thing is to inquire *how* he acted. The next question is *why* he acted thus, — what were the *principles* which led to such and such courses and habits of action. And, when we have ascertained these principles, we have nothing more to do with his conduct, which, if his external circumstances were unlike ours, may have been widely different from what our conduct ought to be.

Thus an exemplary and faithful minister of Christ may, even in his official relation and duties, present a profitable example, not only to his brethren in the ministry, but to every private Christian, however humble and limited his sphere of duty. Nor can a sketch of the manifestations of a pure, energetic, and devout spirit ever be otherwise than interesting and useful to every serious reader. We have been led by these considerations to present to the readers of the Christian Examiner a brief sketch of the life and character of the Rev. Dr. Parker, late of Portsmouth, N. H.

Nathan Parker was born at Reading, Mass., June 5th, 1782. His father was a farmer, in good, though not affluent circumstances. The son early manifested a perseverance and zeal in the pursuit of learning, to which, rather than to any predetermination of his parents, he was indebted for the advantages of a liberal education. While laboring on his father's farm, he was in the constant habit of rising before the dawn of day, in order to devote an hour or two to undisturbed study. When a boy, he was also distinguished for

decision of character, mental energy, and the love of truth. He was beloved and respected by his companions, was the leader in all their sports, possessed great influence over them, and always used his influence for good purposes. There is reason to believe, that at a very early age he became sensible to the claims of Christian duty, and that the foundation of his subsequent usefulness and worth was laid in youthful piety. He has often been heard to observe, that, since the age of twelve, he had not known what the fear of death was, evidently implying, that at that early age he had learned to take a Christian view of the event of death, and to cherish a Christian's hope in the prospect of it.

Dr. Parker was fitted for college at Boxborough, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Willard. He graduated at Harvard University in 1803; and carried thence a high reputation for industry, talents, and moral worth. His professional studies were conducted partly at the University, but chiefly under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Bancroft of Worcester, who ever after regarded him with a truly paternal interest and affection. After being licensed to preach, he officiated for two years as Tutor at Bowdoin College, where he was highly esteemed, both as a teacher and a disciplinarian, securing at the same time the entire respect of his coadjutors and the undivided affection of his pupils. He had preached occasionally in and near Brunswick while Tutor; and, when he resigned that office, he devoted himself exclusively to the profession of his choice. On the 14th of September, 1808, he was ordained as Pastor of the South Church and Parish in Portsmouth, which had become vacant nearly three years previously by the decease of the Rev. Dr. Haven.

The removal of a Junior Pastor from whom much had been expected, the age and infirmities of the eminent and excellent Senior Pastor, and the long vacancy that followed his decease, had greatly reduced and enfeebled the society; so that, when Dr. Parker assumed the charge of it, it could hardly have been deemed an eligible settlement for a young man of his standing and talents. He entered upon the pastoral office, not as a post of ease or honor, but of arduous duty; and to the fidelity with which he discharged his duty, the almost unprecedented improvement and prosperity of his parish bear ample testimony. Though he found able and efficient counsellors and friends in the family of his pre-

decessor and among other members of his parish, he at first labored under very great discouragements, was obliged for a long time to perform offices which ordinarily devolve upon lay-brethren; and though in the latter portion of his ministry he had many and valuable coadjutors, yet they were in most instances indebted to him, if not for the will to do good, at least for the knowledge of their capacities of usefulness. But, during the last years of his life, he had every thing that a minister could wish to encourage and gratify him. He saw a new, large, and costly house of worship filled to overflowing with punctual and attentive hearers. He administered the Lord's Supper to a church comprising at least a fourth part of all the individuals connected with his parish, and of course a much larger proportion of its adult members. And in an old meeting-house, purchased for the purpose, from two to three hundred of the lambs of his flock assembled, from Sabbath to Sabbath, under the care of fifty or more intelligent, faithful, and zealous teachers. At the same time, he found much to cherish the belief, that this external prosperity was connected with a general and deep interest in religious truth, and in very many instances with confirmed and glowing piety. Such, through the divine blessing, were the fruits of his ministry; and it deeply concerns his professional brethren to know the means by which he was enabled to effect so much. In attempting to discover the springs of his usefulness, we shall speak first of his public services, then of his conduct as a pastor, and lastly of his private character, the influence of which has been more generally, and must be more permanently beneficial, than the sum total of his official qualifications and labors.

The most prominent trait in Dr. Parker's sermons was their practical character. Not that he was a practical preacher in the common sense of the words, which usually denote one who confines himself to trite and time-worn topics,—who never says any thing that the most unreasonable man living could gainsay,—who, though he may enlighten a fool or reclaim a sinner, might preach for ages without making a wise man wiser, or a good man better. To no man could this character be less applicable than to the subject of the present sketch. He grovelled not upon the earth, to conform himself to unrefined tastes and humble capacities,

"But, letting down the golden chain from high,
He drew his audience upward to the sky."

His sermons, by the manifestations of deep, clear, sound thought which they contained, claimed and rewarded the close attention of the merely and highly intellectual; while, by his simplicity and fervor of style and manner, he reached the hearts and won the affections of the illiterate and lowly. In the choice of his subjects, he took a very wide range. He often selected such topics as we find discussed only in systematic, metaphysical, or ethical treatises; but always made them subservient to instruction in righteousness. Political changes and events of general or local interest gave him opportunities, which he never failed to improve, of impressing deeply the duty of integrity, benevolence, gratitude, or submission. He looked at every subject in a religious point of view; every question was to his mind a question of gospel truth or of Christian duty; every event, an admonition of Providence; every situation in life, one on which religion would frown or which religion should sanctify; and thus he was able to draw spiritual nutriment for his flock from the most widely diverse sources, even as the bee extracts sweetness from plants of every hue and savour. But his favorite topics were those immediately connected with the mission and character of Christ; and, whatever else might be the nominal subject of discourse, the life and teachings of the Saviour furnished arguments, illustrations, and motives. He knew that "neither philosophy, nor rhetoric, nor speculation could satisfy the soul of man; but Christ the bread of life, Christ the image of God, Christ the hope of glory."

Love for the souls of his hearers, a desire to save, improve, and sanctify them, pervaded all his public discourses, and gave them point and power. "Reflect," said he to a junior brother in the ministry, who asked his advice, "reflect, in preparing for the pulpit, that there may be among your hearers some impenitent sinner, who in the sermon you are writing will hear the word of God preached for the last time. Make it your aim in every sermon to say something which might induce such an one to seek salvation or show him how to seek it." "I went home," says the clergyman thus addressed, "and with his advice fresh in my mind, prepared a sermon on the text, *Now is the accepted*

time, now is the day of salvation; and to that sermon most of those who for several months afterwards applied for admission into my church, ascribed their first serious impressions." Dr. Parker's advice on this point was the exact transcript of his own practice. To induce sinners to be reconciled to God was the prime object of his preaching. He seldom or never closed a sermon without saying something peculiarly applicable to those who are living without God in the world; and when the main body of his discourse had been peculiarly speculative or metaphysical, as if to atone for this aberration from his usual path, he would in his conclusion force the current of his thoughts into a practical channel, and urge with unwonted power and fervor the fundamental obligations of duty. He deplored the custom, too prevalent we fear in many of our churches, of addressing the whole congregation as fellow travellers at different distances on the road to heaven, — of dwelling too much on the duty of growth in grace and too little on that of fleeing from the wrath to come. "The most useful sermons," said he a short time before his death, "are those, in which the preacher urges men to *begin* to be religious and teaches them how to begin."

Controversial sermons he seldom preached; and, when he preached them, it was generally on secular days. He preferred that the sacred leisure of the Sabbath should be uniformly consecrated to the fundamental truths and duties of Christianity. Controversy being his strange work, he never engaged in it, except when compelled to do so by some widely prevalent abuse or error. And on such occasions he summoned up all his energy; and his word was indeed with power, and was neither coldly heard nor soon forgotten. But he opposed principles, not men. Of the personal reputation, whether moral or religious, of those who differed from him, he was always tender. Only of those who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others, of those who substituted the word of man for the word of God, and the name of a Paul or an Apollos for that of Christ, of those who usurped the dominion over other men's faith and consciences and threatened with everlasting destruction those who herded not with them, did he suffer himself to speak with severity; and, if ever he transgressed the law of Christian meekness and moderation, it

was in denouncing the arrogance and deprecating the influence of such men.

In a rhetorical point of view, Dr. Parker's style was severely correct, but remarkable rather for conciseness and strength, than for brilliancy or euphony. He was a careful writer; for it was a matter of conscience with him to do whatever he did thoroughly. But he rather shunned than sought merely rhetorical effect. He deemed that the best style, which as a style should never be spoken or thought of, but which should serve as a transparent medium for the author's ideas.

Dr. Parker was in the habit of preaching extempore, on the evenings of secular days, for many of the last years of his ministry. His discourses on those occasions were generally practical; and were perhaps the most eloquent and efficient of all his public exercises. Throwing off the restraint imposed by the pulpit and the written sermon, he then assumed the attitude of a father in the midst of his children, and with dignified familiarity and even more than paternal tenderness rebuked, exhorted, and entreated his flock; and many members of his church look back to these vestry lectures, as the means of first giving a religious direction to their thoughts and feelings.

In his devotional exercises Dr. Parker was remarkable for fervor and appropriateness. His were prayers which it would have seemed sacrilege to criticize; for they were such as to impress the feeling deeply upon the hearer, that the speaker was not only leading the devotion of others, but himself holding intimate and heart-felt communion with God.

His manner of speaking was characterized by dignity, earnestness, and solemnity. It was that of one, not only himself strongly impressed with the importance of the truth he taught,

"But deeply anxious that the flock he fed
Should feel it too."

His voice had been clear, euphonous, and powerful; his enunciation distinct and emphatic. But the disorder with which he was afflicted for many years, obstructed his organs of speech to so great a degree, that, though those accustomed to his voice understood him perfectly, strangers frequently lost a large part of what he said. He used but little gesture,

and that little of the head rather than the hand. But the expression of his fine, clear, black eye was susceptible of great variety and power, and was always watched with deep interest by his hearers.

One of the most striking traits in Dr. Parker's ministerial character, one which perhaps contributed more than any other to his eminent success, was his entire devotedness to the spiritual good of his own flock. Many very worthy clergymen effect little by attempting too much. The subject of this memoir devoted himself not only to doing good, but to doing good as the minister of his own church and society. He felt that, after the faithful and exemplary discharge of his duties as the head of a family, a neighbour, and a citizen, all the residue of his time and strength belonged to them. He therefore gave them his unimpaired strength of mind and fervor of heart; and was ready to spend and be spent in their service. He shrunk from those calls to officiate on public occasions, which many members of the profession seem to covet; and when, in order to avoid the charge of false modesty or eccentricity, he obeyed such calls, he always prepared for them with far less alacrity, and consequently with less success, than for the ordinary duties of the sanctuary. Thus those, who heard him preach only on public occasions, must have regarded him as hardly above mediocrity; and among the hundreds of parochial sermons that he left behind him, we doubt whether fifty could be selected, which are not greatly superior to any of those few occasional sermons, which, in compliance with universal custom, though against his own inclination, he gave to the press. The partiality of his hearers would repeatedly have given the world an opportunity of knowing how he preached to them; but he always declined their invitations to give copies of sermons for publication, referring them with characteristic modesty to works *where they might find the same subjects more ably treated*. His best services were for them exclusively. He sought not fame in the church at large, — he sought not praise from man. He sought and obtained the testimony of a good conscience. He sought, and, we trust, has obtained, the reward of a faithful servant.

This devotedness to the one field of usefulness presented in his parish, was favorable to the expansion of his mind and the increase of his intellectual strength. He doubtless

brought to the work of the ministry high talents and large acquisitions ; but, had they been less, his devotedness would have made him eminent. The concentration of intellectual powers and attainments upon some worthy and adequate object is always favorable to their developement and increase ; and never was there a more entire concentration of purpose and effort than he manifested with regard to his field of labor. Ever alive to the duties of his office, he was constantly on the watch for opportunities to do his Master's work. The course of Providence, the news of the day, the state of business, the private circumstances of individuals, — all were known to him, and all employed as the occasions or means of conveying religious instruction, advice, or admonition. He knew that his commission extended to the works and ways, as well as to the word of God ; and he dropped it not with the robe of the sanctuary. He never laid it aside. In scenes of joy and of sorrow, at the house of feasting and of mourning, among the rich and the poor, the high and the low, he appeared as the minister of Jesus, whose duty it was at all seasons and in all places to breathe his Master's spirit, to diffuse a holy influence, and to glorify God.

Prudence was another important element in Dr. Parker's ministerial character. There was nothing of intrigue. Whatever he said or did, he said and did openly and fairly ; but was at the same time so circumspect in his conversation, manners, and conduct, as always to maintain the dignity of his profession, to ensure respect for the religion which he preached, and to gain the personal confidence of those with whom he was associated. And his uniform discretion was one great reason why, from the date of his settlement to the day of his death, he was not only beloved, but was the object of the constantly increasing confidence and affection of his flock. Many clergymen of eminent talents and virtues die, or leave their parishes, no more, and even less, respected and beloved than at the time of settlement, simply because they lose from time to time by mere indiscretions, by single unguarded speeches or actions, the vantage-ground which many months of diligence and fidelity may have given them. Having no such drawbacks, his progress in the regard and esteem of his people, and consequently in the means and opportunities of usefulness, was constant, unintermitted.

His prudence made him extremely cautious with regard to the adoption of new plans or modes of operation. But, when once thoroughly convinced of the utility of any particular system of measures, he never gave it up, but pursued it steadfastly, however great obstacles might lie in the way of it. Thus every parochial institution and operation was settled upon a permanent basis, and new plans, when they met his approbation, were superinduced upon old ones instead of superseding them ; whereas, in most parishes, innovation and disorganization are coincident. His characteristic perseverance was strikingly exemplified in his success as an extempore preacher. In early life he had never practised speaking without notes. After he had been settled a few years, he became strongly convinced of the utility of familiar religious instruction apart from the regular services of the Sabbath. He accordingly made the attempt with a determination to succeed. He so far failed in several of his earliest extempore discourses, as to discourage all but himself, and to induce his friends to urge him to desist. But he persevered from a stern sense of duty, gradually overcame impediments and difficulties, and towards the close of his life was in that particular department "equalled by few, excelled by none."

He visited his people often and familiarly. His conversation had nothing of official dignity or affected sanctity about it. It was that of a judicious, serious, and deeply interested friend. With regard to secular affairs he never obtruded his advice, but gave it freely wherever he knew that it would be well received. It has been said that he knew the state of every man's business in his parish ; and some of his flock, who have been on the brink of failure, have received from him the first intimation of their danger. This knowledge of men's affairs, the result not of inquisitiveness, but of intuitive sagacity, was always employed with the utmost caution and reserve, and was the means of greatly extending his influence ; for those, who witnessed his wisdom with regard to things temporal, were less likely to imagine that he was following cunningly devised fables with regard to things spiritual. He had the happy talent of uniting entertainment and instruction in his conversation. Often humorous, always cheerful, he hardly ever made a remark which had not a moral bearing. His observations

were generally laconic, pithy, and easy to be remembered ; and he was in the constant habit of uttering both in public and private practical maxims, which in point of sententious brevity might compare with the best proverbs of antiquity ; and now that he has gone, his people delight to recall these maxims, to treasure them up as precious remembrancers of him whom they all loved, and to show how much they loved him by carrying his instructions into practice.

He was far from confining himself within the narrow limits of professional duty. Pecuniary aid to the poor, watching with the sick, ministering physical relief and comfort to the helpless, were services which he was ever ready to render with a self-sacrificing indifference to his own convenience, health, and strength. And his ready sympathy with those in sorrow, always suggested the most appropriate topics of consolation, and the most delicate and acceptable modes of administering it. Thus those, who in periods of bereavement or distress enjoyed his pastoral services, feel that they are now bereaved of one as dear to them as a father, son, or brother.

One of the most interesting and important traits in Dr. Parker's character as a pastor, was his skill in enlisting others in labors of usefulness. He regarded his parish, and especially his church, as a great family, every member of which should live not for himself, but for all, and should be ready to bestow his aid or counsel wherever needed. He thought that he rendered an essential service to any individual, by showing him how or where he might do good. And through his provident supervision, though there was of course "a diversity of gifts" among his numerous coöperators, there was "the same spirit." Wherever he discerned in any individual the will to do good, he gently forced his benevolent energy into the right channel ; and very many are the sons and daughters of charity, who first learned from him the lesson, that they needed neither wealth nor learning to enable them to do real and great good, — that neither narrow incomes, nor humble rank, could excuse them from doing their Master's work. He pointed out to the rich, needy and worthy subjects for their alms. He pointed out to those in humble life persons still poorer than themselves, to whom they could render sympathy and aid. Those who were capable of administering spiritual counsel he directed

to the abode of the anxious, the penitent, the sick, and the dying, or sent them to expostulate with the thoughtless or vicious, or commended to their Christian care and love the children of those who kept themselves out of the reach of good influences. And, though he has now gone to his rest, his benevolent spirit will, we trust, long survive in the charity of those, whom it inspired and furnished for every good word and work. We would the rather dwell upon Dr. Parker's example in this respect, because we fear that ministers in general think too little of the necessity of having fellow-workers, and that their people think too little of the duty of coöperating with the clergy. Let ministers and people bear it in mind, that it is not to a single class of men that God has entrusted the interests of religion, — the prosperity of Christ's kingdom. To protect, foster, and support religious institutions, to diffuse the knowledge and spirit of the gospel, to instruct the young, to comfort the afflicted, to reclaim the erring, is the duty of every individual of mature years and mind. Religious societies should be regarded merely as associations for carrying forward these objects more effectually than they could be advanced by individual effort; and, though every such society have one member who devotes himself exclusively to these objects, his work cannot be expected to thrive unless he have the countenance and coöperation of the other members.

Another prominent feature in Dr. Parker's ministerial conduct, was the active interest which he took in those minor institutions and societies, the prosperity of which is always a sure index of the prosperity of the parish with which they are connected. The Sunday School connected with his parish, and upon which so much well-deserved praise has been bestowed, owed its existence, its teachers, its scholars, its prosperity in a great measure to his agency. The present superintendent of that school writes;

"To him this school owes its existence. His single mind, his unassisted thought, gave the first impulse which resulted in an institution in which so many spirits have rejoiced, in which so many immortal spirits will rejoice through eternity. I perfectly remember the Monday morning, more than fifteen years ago, when, after a sermon upon the subject, he came to me with the question, if I was ready to give my aid to commence a Sabbath-School. Like many others,

in this day of greater light, I "began to make excuse." In another he found a more ready helper. And although the force of example, and the influence of friendship, soon brought me to a sense of my duty, it was still with hesitation and reluctance, that I entered upon an employment, to which, with the exception of the instructions of him whom I have now lost, I owe more than to any single means of divine grace. Great as is the praise that belongs to others, who lent the weight of their character and influence, and who gave their time and their talents to this most truly Christian work; and delighted as we have ever been to see the meed of praise which is so richly their due so readily paid,—yet to him, whose mind originated, whose wisdom assisted to mature, whose approbation encouraged this great plan of usefulness,—to him, next to God, we ought to attribute the good which it has done. How dear has this holy charity ever been to his heart. When have we seen his firm countenance more deeply moved,—when have we heard his fervent spirit more warm in utterance,—when have the beams of holy benevolence shone with more delightful radiance from his features, than when he has risen to pray for us, to encourage us, to instruct and to bless us! How often, when our courage would have failed, or our hearts desponded, has his voice cheered us, and stirred us up to new effort, to renewed vigor and perseverance. What a constant incentive to duty, has been the desire of approval from one whom we so loved and venerated. In private and in public, this school has been among the objects most cherished and loved by him,—the theme on which he delighted to dwell, as the source of his most precious encouragement, consolation, and hope for the people of his charge."

Some years since Dr. Parker took the lead in establishing in his parish a "Society for Mutual Improvement," composed chiefly of young men, though numbering among its members and writers many in middle life. The pastor for the time being is *ex officio* president of this society. At each of its meetings, a dissertation is read by one of its members on some moral or religious subject, which is then discussed by the members at large, and at the close made the subject of comment by the president. To this society many men in the active walks of life owe a facility in writing and conversing on abstract subjects, which elsewhere is al-

most exclusively confined to the learned professions. Still greater is the practical benefit that has resulted from its meetings, in bringing home to the hearts and the consciences of its members a sense of duty and of accountability. It was the constant aim of their late president to give as far as possible a practical turn to their discussions, and they have been the only hearers of some of his most powerful and pathetic exhortations to repentance and holiness.

In order to cherish a spirit of mutual interest and brotherly love among professing Christians, he encouraged periodical meetings both of the male and female members of the church. The latter have met quarterly at a private house, and taken tea together. In this way the prosperous and the needy have been brought in contact, the wants of the latter made known, and the sympathies of the former called forth; and then, when a sister is absent from the meeting, she is inquired for, sought out, and, if in sickness or sorrow, relieved or comforted. These meetings were always cheered by the presence of the beloved pastor; and were anxiously looked forward to, by those whose friends were few, as opportunities of seeing the friend whom they could not see too often. The brethren of the church met also quarterly at his house, where the exercises were of the same kind with those at the meetings of the "Society for Mutual Improvement." There were numerous ways like these, in which he sought to excite and cherish an interest in the concerns of religion, and in all of which his efforts were abundantly blessed.

Dr. Parker's labors were rendered the more arduous by the isolated situation which he occupied. For the last thirteen years of his ministry, though his sentiments suffered no material change from the time of his settlement, he was disowned by his congregational brethren, even by those who had welcomed him, or whom he had welcomed into the ministry. The simple fact of his having attended the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Sparks at Baltimore, was sufficient to induce the pastor of a church, with which his had been connected for the greater part of a century by regular exchanges and alternate lectures,—a pastor too, who, with a full understanding of the difference of sentiment between them, had exchanged with him the right hand of Christian fellowship, to suspend every act of Christian intercourse and courtesy. Dr. Parker was in the early part of his ministry

a member of the Piscataqua Ministerial Association ; but after a while found himself excluded from their counsels, and obliged to discontinue his attendance on their meetings. He had for many years attended the annual meeting of the Convention of Congregational Ministers in New Hampshire ; but had for obvious reasons of late years discontinued his attendance. During a short and partial restoration of health the last spring, he visited Concord at the season of the religious anniversaries, and by mere accident dropped into the apartment where that Convention were assembled. He found them engaged in considering a report, made by a committee appointed at the next previous meeting for remodelling the Convention. The first resolve recommended in that report was not only to change the name of the convention, but to exclude from it all the Unitarian members. The Orthodox members had missed Dr. Parker's presence for years, had supposed him, as he had recently been, in the very embrace of death ; and his apparition among them was received with breathless astonishment, as if one had risen from the dead to rebuke their iniquity. He rose, and commented with calm and dignified severity on the present wide departure from the liberal principles on which the Convention had been established ; and concluded by observing that if the majority of the Convention had lost the spirit in which it was formed, if they were desirous of erecting *themselves* into an exclusive body, he did not object to their doing so ; but that by this measure they did not destroy the *Convention*, and that there might yet be a body of clergymen found in the state, who would unite in continuing it in its original spirit of liberality and love. To this the scribe of the Convention, who was also the author of the report, replied that he wished harmony to prevail in the Convention, that this was inconsistent with diversity of opinions, that it gave him pain to hurt the feelings of any one, nor would he willingly do it ; but that he well knew, that, if Unitarians were permitted to be present, he should be compelled by duty to say things which would wound their feelings, and he therefore wished them excluded. To save *giving pain* to the scribe and his friends, the obnoxious member withdrew, nor did he ever learn, nor have we learned, what became of the resolution for exclusion.

Rendered liable by his liberal sentiments to persecution

and defamation, Dr. Parker returned good for evil, spoke favorably of the motives and characters of those who defamed him, and, whenever any thing derogatory to the reputation of those clergymen, to whose sentiments he was most warmly opposed, was said in his presence, it was always met by a keen rebuke. He delighted also in the few opportunities afforded him of showing that his own charity extended beyond the bounds of party. Twenty-five years of uninterrupted intimacy, mutual esteem, and warm friendship between him and the rector of the Episcopal Church in Portsmouth, together with a constant interchange of ministerial sympathy and courtesies, and an occasional union of public services, showed the world, that Christian ministers can live together in unity without believing alike. We quote the following passage from a sermon preached by the clergyman just referred to, on the Sabbath after Dr. Parker's decease.

"Though differing from us in some religious opinions, yet we never could for a moment doubt that he conscientiously held and maintained his own views, and faithfully labored to know his Master's will and do his Master's work. Notwithstanding the difference of our religious views, there has never subsisted between us any diversity of feeling, — any strife or animosity. We have had about twenty-five years of undisturbed and mutual regard. Not the slightest collision of expression or feeling has ever taken place between us. From the day that we first met till our last interview, I can truly say of him, *very pleasant hast thou been unto me*; how then can I do else than add, *I am distressed for thee, my brother?*"

Oh when will the time come, when the ministers of Christ will labor side by side in his vineyard, bearing each other's burdens, partaking in each other's joy, aiding each other's progress! Then, and not till then, "will the church on earth resemble that above." Then, and not till then, will God and Christ regard it with unmingled approbation.

Dr. Parker's mind was naturally of a high order; and was matured by constant and vigorous exercise. He read comparatively little; but thought much and deeply. Thus, on many subjects discussed at large in ethical and theological treatises, he departed widely from the ordinary routine of illustration, and by his own unaided mental power and dis-

crimination presented far more definite and satisfactory views than books could furnish. Meditation upon abstract subjects, particularly upon those connected with Christian truth and duty, was his favorite, and we might almost say his constant employment. And this will account for the amazing rapidity with which his best sermons were not only written, but planned. They were indeed the creations of the moment; but creations from long preëxistent materials.

In private life, Dr. Parker preëminently exhibited the Christian pattern. What he was in his domestic relations, let those who there knew his worth testify. Suffice it to say, that no one was ever an inmate in his house without leaving it more deeply impressed, than he had ever been before, with the loveliness of a Christian temper and a Christian walk.

One of the most prominent traits in the private character of the subject of this memoir was his firm *faith*. By this we mean an unwavering confidence in the perfect providence and the infinite wisdom and goodness of God, which led him to acquiesce cheerfully in all the dealings of the divine hand, and to entrust unreservedly to the divine disposal every interest whether great or small. Thus he was always satisfied when he had done his duty, whether he witnessed results or not. Results he was willing to leave in God's hand; and he never despaired of a blessing on his well-intended efforts. Nor did he ever speak or think despondingly of the prospects of virtue or religion. When the prevalence of error, or bigotry, or infidelity was mentioned in his presence, he would say: "There is no danger; — God loves His own cause better than we can love it; — let us do our work, and He will assuredly do His."

He was remarkable also for his sensitiveness on the subject of duty. He seemed unwilling to allow that any action could be indifferent in a moral point of view. He therefore carried considerations of duty into those departments and acts of life, in which most men govern themselves by instinct, habit, or custom. Thus, during the whole of his protracted illness, he resolutely refused to employ any remedy which might interfere with his remaining power and means of usefulness.

His life was also characterized by deep humility. He never made any display of devotion and piety, except in the

diligent discharge of duty. All his virtues were unostentatious, unobtrusive. His blameless and useful life, his patience under suffering, his calm and happy death, were the only *profession* of holiness that he ever made. He abhorred flattery; and rejected even the most sincere and well-meant expressions of approbation and praise. He regarded the entire consecration of body, soul, and life to his Master's service as no more than his duty; and he could not conceive of a man's taking pride in himself or meriting the approbation of others for merely doing his duty. "Whatever good I may have done," said he a short time before his death, "give God the glory. I wish not to depreciate the good that I may have done, or to pretend ignorance of it. But of my own deficiencies I am more sensible than any other person can be. And this I know, that if I attain heaven, it will not be because I have earned it. Eternal life is the *gift* of God, and will be given to those who have formed and cherished a taste for its joys. That I may have acquired some relish for its felicities, affords me some consolation and hope." When any allusion, however indirect, was made to the purity of his principles or the benevolence of his motives, he warded it off as most men would a calumny. "He excused himself from the praises of his friends," says one who knew him well, "as a timid child does from a fault laid to his charge."

These virtues were connected with and flowed from fervent piety, a firm belief in the mission and mediation of Christ, and a life of penitence, watchfulness, and prayer. The same principles which had made him respected, beloved, and eminently useful, enabled him in his latter days to set the seal of his own example to the efficacy of the truths which he taught. His faith, his patience, and his resignation were put to the severest test, and came forth like virgin gold from the furnace; and we doubt not that the influence of his example under suffering, was as truly and highly a means of religious admonition and improvement as his public or private instructions had ever been. He was many years ago attacked by a *polypus* in the nose, which could never be eradicated, but occasioned him constant pain, made numerous severe surgical operations necessary, led him through a diversified series of sufferings, frequently prevented his taking repose in the usual posture for weeks or

months together, and so far undermined his constitution as to make him an easy prey to the first acute disorder that attacked him. He at the outset investigated the nature of his disease, ascertained what its course would probably be, and what must inevitably be its termination. And he feared too a trial to his own mind worse than death, and which he was mercifully spared, — the continuance of life beyond the capacity of usefulness. Yet he entered upon this path of suffering with the same alacrity with which he had entered upon the promising path of ministerial duty. He knew that they were alike marked out for him by a Father's hand; and to his eye they were alike radiant with divine love. No one ever saw him otherwise than patient, calm, cheerful, and self-collected. His soul seemed beyond the reach of suffering. He seemed absorbed in the enjoyment of those gifts of God, which are independent of earthly changes and remain unaffected by earthly calamity. "How much reason have I," said he, during one of his severest paroxysms, "to feel grateful for the many mitigations of my sufferings! Indeed I can conceive of no such thing as unmitigated suffering, except such as sin occasions in the sinner's own breast."

His illness, so far from leading him to remit his diligence, prompted him, by reminding him of his frailty, to redoubled energy and devotedness. His people would all have been perfectly satisfied, if, after having been indefatigably active while health and strength remained unimpaired, he had, when wearisome days and sleepless nights were appointed to him, confined himself to the necessary routine of duty. But he suspended not, with the loss of health, habits that seemed consistent only with robust health. As long as he had strength for labor, he labored in his Master's vineyard. And, when exhausted nature demanded temporary recreation, and the importunity of friends compelled him to absent himself for a time from the field of duty, he always departed with reluctance, and hastened back the moment that he heard that any one of his flock stood in special need of his sympathy. He often led the services of the sanctuary, when he could not utter a word without intense pain. He often ministered at the bed of sickness or death, when he stood in almost equal need of the retirement, ease, and care of the sick-chamber. He counted neither health, nor comfort, nor life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his

course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

He was able, with very few and short intervals, to supply his own pulpit till the summer of 1832. From that time till May, 1833, he did not preach at all; but was able to perform much parochial duty. Having been convalescent for the two or three months previous, he preached through the month of May with greater ease to himself, and with greater distinctness and power of enunciation, than he had for several years. But the hopes, which friendship and love hardly dared to cherish, were doomed to wither. His disorder assumed a more threatening aspect than it had ever done before, and brought him to the brink of the grave. His people, to relieve his mind of cares to which his declining health was unequal, with his entire consent and approval, voted to furnish him a colleague, reserving to him for life his rank and rights as Senior Pastor, and his entire salary. In the interval between the choice and the ordination of his colleague, he was again convalescent. On the first Sunday in October he was able to attend public worship and to perform the rite of baptism. Two weeks before his death, he was attacked by an inflammation of the bowels, which resisted the most skilful medical treatment, kept him in constant and excruciating torture, and terminated fatally on the morning of the 8th of November last. After he was made aware that death was at hand, he retained the same composure, resignation, and cheerfulness, which had characterized his deportment during the whole of his illness. Sufficiently self-possessed to attend even to the minutiae of his secular affairs, and to manifest a tender solicitude for the comfort of all around him, he retained to the last the full energy of mental and moral power. He had been so familiar with death, and had so well armed himself against its terrors, that he met it not as a strange and dread event, but as a welcome release from suffering,—as a welcome introduction to the great assembly of the redeemed. He was so manifestly under the constant and elevating influence of the gospel, that it would have been deemed mere mockery to ask him whether his faith were firm, his prospects clear, his hopes bright. Never was more fully manifested the divine energy of Christian faith. Never were more completely verified the words of the Psalmist: “Mark the perfect man and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.”

When the eminent servants of God depart hence, we instinctively fear that the ways of Zion will mourn, we tremble for the ark of God, we feel for the moment that the prosperity of the Church of Christ rests on a weaker basis than before. Earthly shepherds indeed dwell in dust. They utter forth for a few fleeting years the glories of divine truth and the riches of divine love, turn a few sinners to holiness, speed a few departing souls on their heavenward flight; and then dust returns to dust, and the spirit to its Father. But the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls survives in plenitude of power and love. And the gospel too lives, though its preachers die. When the godly cease, when the faithful fail from among the children of men, it is amply able to replenish their ranks, and to make the humblest and meanest the lights and guides, the counsellors and exemplars of their brethren. It has never since its first promulgation left God without faithful servants; and we trust that the series of holy men which commenced with the Apostles will last, amid the ravages of time and death, while the world shall endure. As God calls his worthy children home, let us, whether pastors or people, earnestly strive, by welcoming to our hearts and obeying in our lives the instructions of the gospel, to fill and more than fill the places of the departed. And, since God in his Providence often arrests in its prime the influence of living, active virtue, let us prize the more highly the example of departed worth, which he will not, and which nought else can, take from us.

ART IX. — *The Shade of the Past. — For the Celebration of the Close of the Second Century since the Establishment of the Thursday Lecture.* By N. L. FROTHINGHAM, Pastor of the First Church. Printed at the request of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers. Boston. Russell, Odiorne, & Metcalf. 1833. 8vo. pp. 16.

THOUGH but a shadow of what it once was, the Thursday Lecture deserved this tribute to its ancient importance, this commemoration of its departed honor and glory.

The successor of "the famous Mr. Cotton," who first established this lecture, was fitly appointed to preach at the celebration of its two hundredth anniversary, and the duty could not have fallen into better hands. The facts connected with the occasion are introduced with such a felicity of language, that they are divested of all dryness, and clothed with an interest which does not always belong intrinsically to the minute history of former times. No one, at least no Bostonian, or even New-Englander, can read this discourse without being entertained by it; and moral reflection is so interwoven with the tissue of the narrative, that instruction may be gathered from it as well as entertainment. Such is our own respect, however, for facts and dates, that we regret, and it is our only regret, that more were not given, as we presume that a few more might have been found. The author does not even let us know on his title-page, as is usual, on what day this discourse was preached. The reader is only left to infer from the following passage, that it must have been some time in the autumn of the year 1833.

"There is an obscurity hanging over the early years of the Thursday Lecture, — or the Fifth-day Lecture as it was anciently called, which it is difficult to account for, and the most diligent search that I could make has been unable to clear away. It is well known that the institution of it is dated from the ordination of Mr. Cotton, just two centuries ago, as teacher over the church, that was then the only one in this town. The testimony to this point is of the most satisfactory kind. Governor Winthrop tells us in his Journal, that on the 17th of Sept. 1633, 'the Governor and Council met at Boston, and called the ministers and elders of all the Churches to consider about Mr. Cotton his sitting down. He was desired to divers places, and those who came with him desired he might sit down where they might keep store of cattle; but it was agreed, by full consent, that the fittest place for him was Boston; and that (keeping a lecture) he should have some maintenance out of the treasury.' The fittest place was indeed Boston, that appears to have received its name out of compliment to him, — while he was yet preaching at Boston in Lincolnshire those doctrines, that brought him into question with the high commission court, and compelled him to fly for his safety, disguised and under a feigned name, to these ends of the earth. He was accounted the ablest man on this side of the sea, and his lecture rose at once into an object of deep and general concern." — p. 5.

By looking into Snow's "History of Boston," we learn that Mr. Cotton was ordained teacher of the First Church, Oct. 10, 1633. Mr. Frothingham's discourse was preached just two centuries afterwards. Our love of dates, to which we have alluded above, leads us to give this statement, and supply the omission of the preacher.

It is a curious and interesting fact, with which we were first made acquainted by Mr. Frothingham, that his distinguished predecessor was in the habit of preaching a "Thursday Lecture" in Boston, England, while he was a clergyman of the establishment there. It is thus recorded, in the author's own happy manner.

"The Thursday Lecture does not only carry us back to the days of the first settlement of the country, but to the native land of our forefathers. It is connected with the old world as well as with old times. It was preached in the English Boston by the same fervent ministry that brought it to ours. We can follow it from the fens of the Witham to the New England coast. The grandson of Mr. Cotton assures us, that his famous ancestor kept 'his ordinary Lecture every Thursday,' while he was under the directions of the Bishop of Lincoln, and in friendship with the noble Earl of the same title. One cannot but be struck with the thought, that the eloquent voice might have been heard many and many a time rolling among the stately Gothic arches of St. Botolph's, which came here to fill a poor meetinghouse, having nothing better than mud for its walls and straw for its roof; and that under one of the loftiest cathedral towers in Europe, lifting itself up as the pride of the surrounding country, and a landmark to them that are afar off on the sea, this very institution had its origin, which has long shown not even the vestiges of its ancient renown, but is dying under our eyes and hands a lingering death. I imagine it not only associating the present with a remote age, but bringing together the opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean. I hear the heavy bell calling John Cotton's hearers together in prelatical England; and the knell falls faintly around me of the intervening generations that have gone away one after another into silence." — pp. 6, 7.

After stating that a market, or, as it was more learnedly spelt by Gov. Winthrop, "a mercate," was by order of court, on the 4th of March, 1634, "erected at Boston, to be kept upon Thursday the 5th day of the week, being the lecture-day," and glancing at one or two more facts in the history of the lecture, a picture is drawn, which gives

so lively an impression of the scene delineated, that we must hold it up to the sight of our readers.

"The curtain of nearly half a century now drops before the scene. We see nothing and hear nothing behind it. It was the period, when the Lecture was steadily advancing to its highest point of show and popularity, and yet precisely that which has left the least account of itself; like the true prosperities and well filled power, that love best to go on their way with a rejoicing quietness. I will but lift the screen, and exhibit to you as on a stage or in a picture the appearance that it presented during this period. The thatched meetinghouse has disappeared and given place to a more commodious and worthy structure; and towards this, on every fifth morning of the week, there is a flowing together of the people from many a mile round. The villages send their yeomen and Pastors. The walls of Harvard College, that have risen at Newtown, contribute of its few students and fellows to swell the train. All other instruction must cease, while the lips of the benignant old patriarch Wilson, of the eloquent and commanding Cotton, of the zealous Norton, of Oxenbridge the well beloved, who broke off his own preaching of this very Lecture to be carried to his death-bed, are dispensing diviner knowledge. The schools dismiss their pupils in the forenoon, and are kept no more that day, in order that no one may be deprived of so great a privilege. The rough weather of a climate yet sterner than it has since been, scarcely thins the assembly that comes to warm itself with fervent words and the glow of a common interest and the breath of its own crowd, in a cold place. What an array is here of dignity, and sanctity, and comeliness! What squares of scarlet cloaks! What borders of white but artificial hair! What living complexions,—of a less shining whiteness, and less presumptuously red,—upon many fair but solemn faces, which the arguments of Cotton have divested of their veils! And lest any thing should be wanting to so important an occasion, and lest a single interesting association of life should be overlooked or unconnected with it, I hear the list of names repeated with a loud voice, of those who 'intend,' as the good phrase still is, to make themselves the happiest of mortals. Thus the recreations of the young and the meditations of the old, the order of the churches and the guidance of the state, the market-place and the marriage-ring, have their remembrances bound together in this ancient service. — pp. 9, 10.

In 1679, the Lecture, which hitherto had been conducted by the pastors and teachers of the First Church only, was ordered to be preached by all the "elders" of

the town jointly. "During the siege of Boston" in the war of the revolution, "it was for a few melancholy months suspended, and the deliverance of the town renewed it in the midst of universal acclamations." On this occasion the officers of the army were present, and Washington himself gave his attendance.

Of late years, attendance on the Thursday Lecture has dwindled down almost, as it were, to non-attendance, except on the part of the liberal clergy of Boston and its vicinity. The walls of the church on that day are almost bare, and consequently, in winter, extremely cold. Some desire its discontinuance; but, while others are attached to it by old associations, and the comforts and facilities of brotherly and ministerial intercourse which it affords, it is not likely that it will soon be given up. Whether it shall go on in its present, semi-animate mode of existence, or die a slow death, or be restored to something like its ancient consequence, who can tell? At any rate, we are admonished by the preacher, and wisely, not to mistrust the present, or tremble for the future. "The world that has been changing hitherto, will change more. Forms will give place to forms; opinions will grow obsolete, usages be laid aside, and establishments fall; but truth will gain, and improvement go on, and religion, that immortal one, healed of its hurts and released from all its thralls, draw freer and freer breath."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

[The Editors of the Christian Examiner intend to devote a few pages at the end of each number of their work, to short notices of such publications as may come under their observation, and to such a portion of religious intelligence as they may be able to collect, and as may be most interesting to liberal Christians both at home and abroad. In adopting, or rather returning to such an arrangement, they hope to increase the acceptableness of the Examiner to its readers.]

A Sermon preached in the Church in Brattle Square, December 1, 1833, the Lord's Day after the Decease of Miss Elizabeth Bond. By JOHN G. PALFREY. Boston: Nathan Hale. 1833. Svo. pp. 20. — A beautiful tribute, by the former minister of Brattle Square Church, to the memory of

a lovely and excellent young lady, who had been brought up under his pastoral care, and whose death was deplored by a large circle of friends. Where shall we find a more touching description of "a good daughter," than the following?

"A good daughter!—there are other ministries of love more conspicuous than hers, but none in which a gentler, lovelier spirit dwells, and none to which the heart's warm requitals more joyfully respond.—There is no such thing as a comparative estimate of a parent's affection for one or another child. There is little which he needs to covet, to whom the treasure of a good child has been given. But a son's occupations and pleasures carry him more abroad, and he lives more among temptations, which hardly permit the affection, that is following him perhaps over half the globe, to be wholly unmingled with anxiety, till the time when he comes to relinquish the shelter of his father's roof for one of his own. While a good daughter is the steady light of her parent's house. Her idea is indissolubly connected with that of his happy fireside. She is his morning sun-light, and his evening star. The grace, and vivacity, and tenderness of her sex have their place in the mighty sway which she holds over his spirit. The lessons of recorded wisdom which he reads with her eyes, come to his mind with a new charm as they blend with the beloved melody of her voice. He scarcely knows weariness which her song does not make him forget, or gloom which is proof against the young brightness of her smile. She is the pride and ornament of his hospitality, and the gentle nurse of his sickness, and the constant agent in those nameless, numberless acts of kindness, which one chiefly cares to have rendered because they are unpretending but all-expressive proofs of love. And then what a cheerful sharer is she, and what an able lightener of a mother's cares! what an ever present delight and triumph to a mother's affection! Oh how little do those daughters know of the power which God has committed to them, and the happiness God would have them enjoy, who do not, every time that a parent's eye rests on them, bring rapture to a parent's heart. A true love will almost certainly always greet their approaching steps. That they will hardly alienate. But their ambition should be, not to have it a love merely, which feelings implanted by nature excite, but one made intense, and overflowing, by approbation of worthy conduct; and she is strangely blind to her own happiness, as well as undutiful to them to whom she owes the most, in whom the perpetual appeals of parental disinterestedness do not call forth the prompt and full echo of filial devotion."—pp. 6, 7.

The text of this sermon is from John xvii. 4. The preacher recurs to it in the conclusion of his discourse, in a strain of Christian eloquence and pathos.

"—— 'I have finished the work thou hast given me to do.' Yes! in one sense the work is finished. Morning will rise and evening gather its shadows over that new-made grave, but the one will not disturb, and the other will not compose, the peaceful sleeper. Evening will no longer send her from the happy fireside to the quiet slumbers of an unburdened conscience. Morning will not call her back to the

tasks of filial, sisterly, and Christian love. But how speak we of the work of a good life being finished? She of whom we have used the words, now looks back upon what we call death, and knows it to be only, to use the language of a kindred spirit, 'an incident in life.' Earth has no mounds to confine the soul. The sentence is, that 'the dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.' The spirit has already gone to higher, more unembarrassed, more intense, more joyful life. The voice, which, on the wings of its soul-harmony, has so often lifted our devotions here to the sphere to which it seemed to belong, is already, we trust, lending its rich and volumed sweetness to swell the anthem of the redeemed. 'I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me;—Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Yea, saith the spirit, for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.' 'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.'—pp. 19, 20.

We cannot think that any young person, any young female especially, of sound mind and a feeling heart, could read this sermon without being affected and improved.

The Revelation of Saint John explained by HENRY WILLIAM LOVETT. London: James Nisbet. 1831. 8vo. pp. 256.—A copy of this book was kindly sent to us by the author, many months ago. We thank him sincerely for his attention, and are sorry that we cannot requite it by praising the book, or adopting his notions respecting the Apocalypse. We cannot praise the book, though it is a handsome one, because it is nearly useless. We cannot adopt his notions respecting the Apocalypse, because they are fanciful and groundless. We hold, with Milton and Eichhorn, that the Revelation is a religious poem or drama, showing forth in the most glowing forms of Oriental expression the coming triumphs and future glories of Christianity. We therefore regret to see valuable time thrown away, learned labor misapplied, pens, ink, and paper wasted, and more especially old prejudices cherished and old feuds kept alive, in the endeavour to connect the general prophecies of the Revelation with particular historical events or personages. In particular do we protest against the application of the term Antichrist to the Pope of Rome, or even to Mahomet, notwithstanding the arithmetical proof insisted on by Mr. Lovett, who has, as he thinks, made them out to be the two horns of the beast, from an enigmatical agreement of the numerical powers of the letters composing the Greek words *Lateinos* and *Maometis*, with the prophetic number 666. This

is an ancient solution, but our curious readers may like to see it, as repeated by Mr. Lovett. Here it is.

$$\begin{array}{cccccccccccc} \text{L} & \text{A} & \text{T} & \text{E} & \text{I} & \text{N} & \text{O} & \text{S} & = & 666 & = & \text{M} & \text{A} & \text{O} & \text{M} & \text{E} & \text{T} & \text{I} & \text{S} \\ 30 & 1 & 300 & 5 & 10 & 50 & 70 & 200 & & & & 40 & 1 & 70 & 40 & 5 & 300 & 10 & 200 \end{array}$$

Some interesting passages of history are narrated, and some specimens of a dry, eccentric kind of humor are displayed in this work, and these will perhaps redeem it, in the judgment of the charitable, from the sentence of utter uselessness. As an instance of the humor, the following extract may suffice. It is a part of the author's illustration of Rev. xv. 8. "And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled."

"The labor of filling the temple with smoke was continued with indefatigable industry by the doctors of the middle ages, who in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were divided into two great classes of *Doctores dogmatici et positivi*,—dogmatic and positive doctors, (they must have been a pleasant set) and *Doctores sententiarum*,—doctors of sentences,—expounders of the famous book of Sentences by Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris.

"In the worse than Egyptian darkness that, concurrently with the doctors, overspread Christendom, the papal fiend walked abroad; and, to the smoke wherewith they filled the temple, the Jesuits subsequently contributed, as it were from the fumes of assa fetida, 'the dunnest smoke of hell.'

"On the long and dark night the reformation at length dawned, and we now know the quarter of the heavens whence the unclouded sun of revelation will ultimately pour the fulness of his meridian light; but his brightness is yet, in fulfilment of the apocalyptic prediction, veiled by thick mists: for the operation of smoke-making in the temple has never been discontinued. It is, indeed, more than probable that Europe cannot now boast of any single theologian, capable of blowing a cloud so voluminous and dense as issued from such vomitories as the primitive fathers of the church, and the admirable,—the profound,—the subtle,—the irrefragable,—the angelic,—the seraphic, or, the illuminated, doctors of the middle ages,—every one of whom smoked like a steam-engine; but the art of printing has multiplied incalculably the number of small smokers, and the modern universities are seldom without some eminently learned professor, the *Nihilivorus Zadis* of the day, whose powers of fumigation Fronto might have deemed worthy of a place in his LAUDES FUMI ET PULVERIS."—pp. 97, 98.

The Deist's Immortality, and an Essay on Man's Accountability for his Belief. By LYSANDER SPOONER. Boston: 1834. 8vo. pp. 14.—No doubt Mr. Lysander Spooner thinks that he has confuted and overturned Christianity in this pamphlet of fourteen pages. How well qualified he is for such a feat,

may be inferred from his fair and accurate delineation of the object of his attack.

"And what is it to believe the Bible, that men should merit the everlasting vengeance of the Almighty for not believing it? Why, setting aside its secondary absurdities and enormities, it is to believe in these giant ones, viz. that when Deity created an universe, in pursuance of a design worthy of himself, he created in that universe a Hell,—a Hell for a portion of the beings to whom he was about to give life,—a Hell for his children,—a Hell that should witness the eternal reign of iniquity, misery, and despair,—a Hell that should endlessly perpetuate the wickedness and the wo of those who might otherwise have become virtuous and happy; that he then, after having created men, and given them a nature capable of infinite progress in knowledge and virtue, by placing them in a world full of enticement and seduction, deliberately laid the snare, made the occasion, fed the desire, and instigated, invited, and seduced to the conduct, which he knew certainly would issue in the moral ruin of that nature, and the endless wretchedness of the individuals: and, finally, that all this was *right*, that such a Being is a good Being, and that he merits from us no other sentiment than the highest and purest degree of filial and religious emotion."—p. 13.

If Mr. Lysander Spooner really believes that this is the doctrine of the Bible, that this is Christianity, we sincerely pity his ignorance, and advise him to enlighten himself. We know of no such Bible, nor do we acknowledge any such Christianity, and therefore do not feel ourselves called on to defend them as thus represented.

Nearly the whole of this pamphlet is employed in making a great parade of the "march of mind," the capacity of the mind for endless improvement, the right of private judgment, and other such matters; as if, instead of being, as they are, acknowledged and Christian truths, they had been just found out by Lysander Spooner, his brother Deists, Atheists, and other motley followers of Robert Owen and Fanny Wright. To them, indeed, they may be new. If so, we wish them joy of their acquisitions, and hope they will go on, adding to their stores, and gain more knowledge, more humility, and some veneration for sacred and venerable things.—Infidelity is not new in the world. It is as old as sin. But just now it is making a new manifestation of itself, and creating a temporary excitement. We therefore expect that there will be more than a plenty of such works as this pamphlet thrust upon public notice, and that some minds will be deluded by them. If, however, they are not more able than this pamphlet, it is not probable that we shall waste our attention upon them.

The Unitarian. James Munroe & Co., Cambridge.—Two numbers of a monthly publication, under this title, have ap-

peared. It is conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Bernard Whitman, and Jason Whitman, and Mr. George Nichols. As the name they have chosen would lead us to expect, the editors of this work propose to allot a considerable proportion of their pages to clear statements, and a fearless and strenuous defence, of those views of Christianity commonly denominated Unitarian. It is also intended, that the articles generally shall be of a popular cast, that religious intelligence collected from all parts of the country shall be freely inserted, and that the journal shall be especially adapted to the wants of those communities, in which an interest in Liberal Christianity is just beginning to be awakened. With such objects in view, under such auspices, and after the specimens already given of the ability and spirit in which the work is to be conducted, we may confidently predict, that it will obtain a wide circulation, and do much to advance the cause of truth and righteousness.

The Library of Old English Prose Writers. Vol. VII. Latimer's Sermons. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1832. 12mo. pp. 288. — This is the last published, and we think the most curious volume, in the valuable series of old authors edited by the Rev. Mr. Young, the first volume of which was reviewed in our Number for September, 1831. The selections from Latimer are preceded by a biographical sketch of the old reformer and martyr, compiled by the editor from Wrangham, Gilpin, and Fox. There is no wonder that crowds attended on his preaching, for he was, in the strictest sense of the word, a popular preacher. Though learned, he did not bring his learning ostentatiously into the pulpit, as was the fashion afterwards. He sought no polish of style, but bolted out the plainest truths in the plainest possible way. His manner was much like that of the best preachers among our Methodists and high Calvinists. He was not of Leighton's opinion; he "preached to the times;" — and verily his times needed to be preached to. "And now I would ask a strange question," says he in his Sermon of the Plough;

"Who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, and passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you: it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other; he is never out of his diocese; he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish; he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will; he is ever at

home, the diligentest preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plough; no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business; ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough, to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles; away with bibles and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noondays. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry,—censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing; as though man could invent a better way to honor God with, than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor, and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones: up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honor due to God, and up with the new god's honor. Let all things be done in Latin: there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as "Memento, homo, quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris." Remember man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return: which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ashwednesday; but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English."—pp. 22–24.

That is the way bishop Latimer used to preach, and it is not strange that in Mary's reign he was brought to the stake, or that while at the stake, he should have said to his companion in suffering, Ridley, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

We congratulate the public that the health of the editor of this series is restored, and that he is about to resume the work by publishing selections from the writings of Jeremy Taylor.

Amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts.—Our readers may recollect two essays, which appeared in our Number for January, 1833, on the subject of the proposed amendment of the Third Article of our Bill of Rights. That amendment, having been adopted by a majority of the Senate, and two thirds of the House of Representatives, and afterwards approved and ratified by a majority of the people, is now declared to be a part of the Constitution by a proclamation of the Governor, dated the 13th of February, 1834. We refer our readers to the first of the two essays above mentioned, for copies of the original Third Article, and the amendment, which has lately been substituted for it.—We do not believe that the

alteration now effected, will produce any change in the habits of our people, or be followed by any important practical results, either good or bad, as some have hoped and others have feared. There will, at least, be now no occasion for the "signing off," dissatisfaction, and subterfuge, which were formerly more common than pleasant to witness. We are glad that religion now stands in our state, as it does in other states, free from all alliance with the civil power, and depending only on itself, on God, and on the nature, wants, and affections of men.

State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.—From the first annual report of the trustees of this Institution, and the documents appended, we learn that the whole number of patients admitted, to January 1, 1834, was one hundred and sixty-three, of whom thirty-two have been restored to reason, and several others have been materially improved. Forty-one of the cases of insanity here mentioned are ascribed to the single cause of intemperance, and sixteen to religious excitement and fanaticism. It will be recollected that this asylum owes its existence to a humane regard, on the part of the State, for such lunatics as would otherwise be confined in jails and houses of correction as dangerous members of society, and for lunatic paupers. Of the whole number of patients one hundred and twelve are of the former description, and thirteen of the latter. The Hospital is a noble monument of Christian philanthropy, and considering the time it has been in operation, and the character and condition of most of its inmates, the results hitherto, as appears from the report, surpass the expectations of its projectors and friends.

Professor Robinson, of Andover, announces as in press a new edition of his *Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*. It is almost wholly re-written, and will appear as a new and independent work. The same gentleman is translating for publication *Neander's History of the Planting and Progress of the Christian Church under the Apostles*. The Andover publishers announce also, as in preparation, *Hug's Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, Translated by D. Fosdick, Jr., with Notes by Professor Stuart.

We understand that a translation of *Hengstenberg's Christologie*, by a Clergyman at the South, is in the University Press at Cambridge.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

Nº LXII.

NEW SERIES—Nº XXXII.

MAY, 1834.

ART. I.—*Life and Correspondence of JOSEPH PRIESTLEY*,
LL. D., F. R. S., &c. By JOHN TOWILL RUTT. In
2 volumes. Vol. II. London. 1832. 8vo. pp. 552.

It may be remembered, that we noticed the first volume of this *Life of Priestley* in a former number,* intending to continue the notice on receiving the second volume, which was not then published. It has now been in our hands some time; and we confess we should have been more prompt in noticing it, had it contained more new or varied materials, from which we could hope to furnish an interesting article. In this respect it has disappointed us, though not in all respects. We have read it with strong and growing interest in the character of Dr. Priestley, particularly as an uncomplaining sufferer, an indefatigable laborer, and a trusting, placid, immovable Christian. Of these features we have abundant evidence, and the best evidence that can be had, in his private letters, which, to the number of about three hundred and fifty, constitute nearly the whole of this volume. The remainder is occupied with the conclusion of his own *Memoirs*, and his son's *Continuation*, with some of the letters addressed to him by religious and scientific societies, expressive of their sense of his worth and their sympathy in his troubles. Of the letters of his private correspondents very few are given, many of them having been purposely destroyed by him or his family, and the rest withheld from

* See *Christian Examiner* for May, 1832, p. 257.

publication by his surviving son, from respect to what he supposed would have been his father's feelings.

It will be seen, therefore, that the volume before us is almost entirely epistolary, and that the additional information and interest it contains, relate to the private mind of Priestley, and the manner in which he was affected by the varied events of his life, rather than the events themselves. To all who wish to see this eminent man as he truly was, to enter into the deep but quiet springs of his character, and trace the influence of his opinions and fortunes on his own heart, ample opportunity is here given; and all such will thank Mr. Rutt for the pleasure he has afforded, and the service he has rendered, by this compilation. But those who take up the book merely for information or entertainment, or with the expectation of understanding better Priestley's character as a writer, and the value of his contributions to the cause of theology and science, may not be satisfied. His own letters probably will not satisfy them. For they are remarkably plain, uniform, and, as some would say, egotistical to a childish degree. They show not the slightest attempt, on the part of the writer, even to give them interest or variety. They contain no discussion of subjects or principles, no labored statement of reasons for this opinion or that course of conduct. Every thing is simple, concise, candid, unconstrained, and, in a good sense, childish. Priestley *was* a child in artlessness and honesty to the end of life. He always writes with childlike simplicity, saying just what he has to say, and all he has to say, in the fewest and plainest words possible. It may be seen in all his writings, and most of all, as is natural, in his letters; with this added trait of simplicity, that these letters are full of himself. He seems to have regarded it as the sole object of friendly correspondence, to make known exactly the situation, occupation, thoughts, and feelings of the writer. This therefore he did at once, and nothing else. His letters seem to us to be precisely what, it is so often said, letters should be, — easy, natural talk. He knew that his friends wished to hear what he was doing; he told them what he was doing, without preface or comment. He knew how pleasant it would be to him to hear what they were doing, and how far they approved of what he was doing, and he plainly asked them. Scarcely a letter does he write, especially to his most fre-

quent correspondent and closest friend, Lindsey, without asking him what he thinks of this or that book or pamphlet which he himself has just published, telling him of its popularity here and its unpopularity there, and going into the minute details of his own labor, plans, and prospects; sometimes in a way which, to an indifferent reader, still more to an ignorant or ill-natured critic, might seem to savour of vanity. It is in truth just what we have said, simplicity; for which, we venture to affirm, no man of Priestley's talents and attainments was ever more remarkable. We have certainly read no letters so strongly expressive of it. And we have thought it well to make these introductory remarks, as applicable to the whole volume now before us, and indicative of its character.

We resume the outline that we were giving of Dr. Priestley's life and labors. We left him at Birmingham, 1787, the date at which his *Memoirs* conclude, as written by himself in England, although, after he came to America, he continued them in a very general way to the time of his leaving England. We derive more full information of the manner in which his mind and time were occupied, from the letters that Mr. Rutt has thrown in at these periods. Priestley went to Birmingham in 1780, and remained there till 1791, in the care of a parish devoted to him, endeavouring to deserve their attachment and advance their best interests, in all the usual and some unusual ways. One of his chief objects seems to have been, as it always was with him, to secure the interest and improvement of young men and women. In this difficult part of ministerial duty, he evidently took great delight and must have possessed uncommon powers. He enjoyed in his present situation more facilities for the prosecution both of his religious and philosophical pursuits, than perhaps in any previous situation. He continued his experiments in chemistry, in illustration of his favorite doctrine of phlogiston, and published his results in several papers in the "*Philosophical Transactions*," much to the dissatisfaction, on this particular point, of his friends at home and the most eminent chemists in France and Scotland. He continued also to publish "*Defences of Unitarianism*," as long as he thought there was any thing that called for defence or attack. His investigations and thoughts on the whole subject of Christian doctrine, led him to un-

dertake a "General History of the Christian Church to the Fall of the Western Empire," which he published, in 1790, in two octavo volumes, afterward extended to six. He appears to have seized every occasion of writing in defence of Christianity, and, among other things of this character, published a second part of "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," animadverting on Gibbon's chapters relating to that subject in the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

This quiet industry and full contentment, in which he hoped to spend the rest of his life, was interrupted by an event, which few could have anticipated, but of which all have heard who have heard of Priestley. Among the unaccountable occurrences which that enlightened country has been compelled to witness, we think England has seen nothing in recent times more unaccountable or more atrocious, than the Birmingham riots. Take them in connexion with the character of the nation and of the man, observe them in their origin, their fury, and their consequences, and they present a singular case of civilized barbarism and outraged Christianity. We have sought in vain for any thing like palliation in the circumstances that led to them, or any thing like compensation in the events that followed them, so far as the nation or government or church was concerned. True, we are told, it was the work of a mob; and a mob is both lawless and relentless. We are not quite sure that it was the work of a mob, except in the actual commission, which was the smallest part of the evil. It is clear there were minds and men conniving if not aiding there, such as are not willingly classed with a mob, whatever may be their affinities. And it is as clear, that neither these nor many others evinced afterward the magnanimity, Christianity, or common justice, which are expected always to follow the unlicensed excesses of a mob. We do not mean, that there were not regrets publicly expressed, and the most honorable assurances given. There were many such, as will be seen. But we mean, that much was wanting, even in this respect, which ordinary liberality or humanity ought to have produced. We mean, that there appeared, before and after, a narrow-minded suspicion, a contemptible littleness of prejudice, and a violence of party rancor, which would have disgraced the most intolerant age

and the most darkened and degraded country. That the outrage had its origin or its promptings from those high in place, there can be little doubt. Priestley, in one of his letters to Lindsey, says, "It is not doubted by any body that I converse with, that the measure originated with the court itself, and that the design was to intimidate and quiet us, by showing us our absolute dependence on them." As to the spirit in which it was received, there were ministers not only of state but of church, who expressed publicly the satisfaction it gave them. At a dinner of Prebendaries, where the subject was introduced, one of the reverend members declared, that if Priestley were mounted on a pile of his own publications, he would set fire to them and burn their author with them; to which they all responded. Such excess of bigotry and wickedness can only be relieved, if relief it can be called, by the suspicion of a different kind of excess, suggested by the occasion of a public dinner. We are happy to be able to give an opposite instance of high-minded catholicism, in a passage from Robert Hall, which will at the same time show, that we have reason for what we have said of clerical acrimony and brutality.

"To their unenlightened eyes [posterity] it will appear a reproach, that in the 18th century, an age that boasts its science and improvement, the first philosopher in Europe, of a character unblemished, and of manners the most mild and gentle, should be torn from his family, and obliged to flee an outcast and a fugitive from the murderous hands of a frantic rabble; but when they learn, that there were not wanting teachers of religion who secretly triumphed in these barbarities, they will pause for a moment, and imagine they are reading the history of Goths or of Vandals."

If we have anticipated the order of events in Priestley's history, it may not be useless, as showing facts which alone will enable us to see the whole extent and some of the causes of this singular case of modern persecution. We have supposed it was generally considered as a political movement, having no connexion with peculiar religious views. This wants proof. That a political instrument was made out of it, that political prejudices were summoned to its aid, and that the passions of the populace were addressed and fomented under the pretext of political objects, is evident. There were charges, indeed, preferred against Priestley,

wholly of a political nature. But we find no facts, in his character or life, to support those charges ; not even enough to make us believe, that those who brought them were sincere in their opposition to him on this ground. There was certainly very little, hardly any thing, in the subjects or temper of his publications, to make him politically offensive. Few men have written so much on every subject, with so little on party politics. Of this any one may be satisfied, in a few moments, by looking over the catalogue of his publications. Those of most consequence in this relation, on History and Civil Government, were written several years before the difficulties at Birmingham, and, so far as they touched the English Constitution, were strongly in its favor. Indeed his letters, after he left England, show him to have been a great friend and admirer of that Constitution ; nor was it without reluctance that he came to prefer so different a form of government as that which he found here. In fact there was a popular witticism current in his own country in regard to him, which represented him as a Unitarian in religion, and a Trinitarian in politics, because he adhered to King, Lords, and Commons. It was to the ecclesiastical features of the government, the church establishment alone, that he was opposed, in common with all Dissenters. Robert Hall says, "He defended with great ability and success the principles of our dissent, and on this account, if on no other, he is entitled to the gratitude of his brethren." To the Dissenters he wrote addresses very early, one at the request of Franklin and Fothergill, in regard to the coming rupture with America, which was widely circulated. He addressed a Letter to Pitt on Toleration, and wrote on the Test and Corporation Acts, and the French Revolution. In favor of that revolution he frankly avowed himself, as believing that great good might result from it to the cause of liberty, civil and religious. It is in relation to France chiefly, if not solely, so far as we can understand, that his political opinions did or could give particular offence. And in this or any relation, it is not probable that his course would have created greater odium, than that of the Dissenters generally, but for his eminence as a philosopher in correspondence with the French philosophers, his independence in avowing and industry in propagating all his opinions, and above all his prominence at the head of the most offensive and troublesome class of Dissenters.

In 1789, two years before the disturbance at Birmingham, the test acts became a frequent and warm subject of discussion with Parliament and the people. On the 5th of November, as was common, Priestley delivered a sermon on the subject, recommending the most peaceable way of pursuing their objects. At the request of seven societies of three denominations of Protestant Dissenters in Birmingham, this sermon was published. It immediately called out a bitter invective from Mr. Madan, one of the clergymen of the town, against the Dissenters generally, and Priestley specially. In reply he wrote "*Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham*," which were answered, and other letters written. These Letters were written, as he tells us, "in an ironical and rather a pleasant manner," and contained declarations of his continued admiration of the British Constitution. Yet these letters appear to have done much toward bringing on the troubles. Priestley thus speaks of them in his *Memoirs*, and gives this brief and easy account of a very serious matter.

"From these small pieces I was far from expecting any serious consequences. But the Dissenters in general being very obnoxious to the court, and it being imagined, though without any reason, that I had been the chief promoter of the measures which gave them offence, the clergy, not only in Birmingham, but through all England, seemed to make it their business, by writing in the public papers, by preaching, and other methods, to influence the minds of the people against me; and on occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the French Revolution, on July 14, 1791, by several of my friends, but with which I had little to do, a mob, encouraged by some persons in power, first burned the meeting-house in which I preached, then another meeting-house in the town, and then my dwelling-house, demolishing my library, apparatus, and, as far as they could, every thing belonging to me. They also burned, or much damaged, the houses of many Dissenters, chiefly my friends, the particulars of which I need not recite, as they will be found in two *Appeals*, which I published on the subject, written presently after the riots.

"Being in some personal danger on this occasion, I went to London; and, so violent was the spirit of party which then prevailed, that I believe I could hardly have been safe in any other place." — pp. 116 – 118.

The outrage and personal danger, of which Priestley

speaks so mildly, were far greater than we could have believed, before seeing the facts contained in this volume and in his Appeals. The destruction of his furniture and books was as wanton as possible, and apparently not without method and intelligence; his papers being either studiously destroyed, or carefully purloined by those who knew how to use them. A clergyman was accused of having examined and *pocketed* the manuscripts. No fire being found in the house or at hand, attempts were made to obtain it from his large electrical machine before it was demolished, but without success. The books were therefore stolen or scattered, as they could not be burned, and the road for half a mile was said to be strewn with them. Yet worse, private letters of every description were carried away for amusement, circulated among all classes, not excepting the higher and clerical orders, and were opened, read, and detained by them; so that for many months, the family had the pleasure of hearing of their letters in such hands. As to personal violence, a young man, mistaken for a son of Priestley, was nearly killed, and Priestley himself obliged to ride four nights, two of them on horseback, and sometimes under an assumed name, until he reached London; even there his friends induced him to wear a dress, that disguised him, and not to venture for some time into the streets.

We may be occupying too much room with the particulars of this disgraceful business, but it seems to us not only of interest, but of importance, as throwing light on the character of the times, and the character of Priestley himself. Seldom has any one shown more of the philosopher or the Christian. He says very little about it himself, and all he does say is in an uncomplaining and cheerful tone. Nor was he alone in this. His wife, a woman of strong mind and firm spirit, exhibits the same delightful temper. We cannot resist giving part of a letter, which she wrote to Mrs. Barbauld, just after the riot, showing the way in which they both received it.

***** "I believe there is something inherent in me, which always makes me swim at the top of affliction, so that I am ready to pop out to the first friendly hand that offers assistance; otherwise I am surprised at myself that I have borne it so well, and greatly rejoiced that Dr. Priestley has kept up under that, and all the malignity that has attended it. Our property

may be said to be entirely destroyed; the few remains that have been picked up so demolished as to be of little value; and if all had been destroyed at once, it would not have been half the vexation that attends the recovery of any thing we have got.

"It is impossible by letter to give you any idea of the situation of this place; a place, I trust, Dr. Priestley will never be induced to live in again, if ninety-nine out of a hundred requested it. We have been here eleven years, and do not know that man, woman, or child has had reason to complain of us; and to be thus rewarded once, I think, is enough in one's life. It is a great comfort to feel conscious we deserved very different treatment. However, as we have been driven off the Birmingham stage, by the audience and our fellow-actors, I do not think that God can require it of us, as a duty, after they have smote one cheek, to turn the other. I am for trying a fresh soil, though old to be transplanted, and leave them to settle at their leisure the repentance and sorrow they have brought upon themselves. * * * * *

"Dr. Priestley comes into the country as soon as I can join him to take a journey. All our fellow sufferers are as well as can possibly be expected. They will scarcely find so many respectable characters, a second time, to make a bonfire of. So much for King and Church for ever." — pp. 365, 366.

It appears to have been the expectation of Priestley's enemies, and the wish of many of his friends, that he would leave at once the country which had expressed to him so strongly its displeasure, and seek refuge in France or America. But not so did he feel. He was determined to do nothing that looked like cowardly or guilty flight. It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to take any measures for escape from personal injury. As soon as he reached London, he informed the king's ministers of his presence and his readiness to answer any questions, but no notice was taken of his message. It was long before any public investigation was made in regard to the riot, and then less than the most common justice was awarded him, in a pecuniary compensation coming short, by two thousand pounds, of the fair amount of his loss. This was not paid till nearly two years after the event. Meantime, however, numerous societies and friends had done much to compensate him in every way. Large sums were given, and the most flattering assurances of esteem and sympathy. Noth-

ing could be more honorable than some of these testimonies, and we wish we had room for extracts. Even wide differences of religious opinion did not prevent entirely the expression of good feeling, respect, and regret. We find, to be sure, no relentions in the government or church party, nothing magnanimous, Christian, or even humane (we were on the point of saying *human*), so far as this volume testifies. But we do find letters from Dissenters of other and various denominations, whose language is equally creditable to themselves and to Priestley. This may be shown by a simple sentence from a letter written in the name of three denominations. "In the cause of religious and civil liberty, we respect you as a confessor, and admire the magnanimity and meekness, equally honorable to the man and the Christian, with which you have borne the losses you have sustained."

Priestley published an "Appeal to the Public" in relation to the riots, to which the clergy of Birmingham replied. He followed their reply by a another Appeal, using the utmost plainness, and accusing some of them of being promoters and abettors of the outrage. To this they promised a reply, but never gave one. It was his intention then to return to Birmingham, and resume his pastoral relation there, which he had not resigned. His congregation sent him most affectionate and pressing requests to return. They and he were soon convinced, however, that he could not go back with safety; and he announced that conviction in a letter, the following passages of which will give some idea, both of the persecution that still followed him, and of the spirit in which he met it.

"What must be the government of a country, nominally Christian, in which such outrages against all law and good order cannot be restrained, and in which a man cannot be encouraged by his best friends to come to the discharge of the duties of a peaceable profession, without the apprehension of being insulted, if not murdered. * * * * * Though the enemy has burned our places of public worship, and lighted the fires, as I have been informed, with our Bibles, they cannot destroy the great truths contained in them, or deprive us of the benefit of our Saviour's declaration; 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely, for my sake.' " — pp. 169, 170.

Dr. Priestley received flattering proposals and importu-

nate requests from France, to make that country his home, and seems at one time to have been much inclined to accede to these proposals. He was regularly made a citizen of France, and was invited by several of the departments to represent them in the National Convention. This last honor he at once declined, having little confidence in his qualifications for such a place, and less relish for political life. His prevailing wish was still to remain in England, exposed as he was, to use his own words, "not only to unbounded obloquy and insult, but to every kind of outrage." And when, before the close of the year 1791, he received an invitation to succeed Dr. Price at Hackney, as pastor of the Gravel-pit Meeting, he gladly accepted it, and soon removed there, entering immediately upon his duties, opening lectures to young people, delivering lectures also to the students of the new college in the neighbourhood, replacing his philosophical apparatus, "though after the loss of nearly two years," and declaring himself as happy as he had ever been, notwithstanding the singular trials to which he had been and still was subjected. For petty and malignant persecution had not yet ceased. It had hardly abated; one of the strongest proofs possible, that it was persecution from the worst of motives, rancorous religious hate. The house he took at Hackney he could not take in his own name, but was compelled to use that of a friend; he declined preaching a public charity sermon, because, after being invited and having consented, the treasurer became alarmed for the consequences; his friends living near him were advised to remove their papers and valuable effects to a safer place; he was more than once burnt in effigy with Paine, and was constantly receiving insulting and threatening letters from different parts of the kingdom. All this time he was quietly pursuing his useful occupations, preaching, lecturing, writing, and publishing, with unabated industry. Among his publications at this period were "Letters" in reply to Wakefield's "Essay on Public Worship," "Letters" in answer to Evanson's "Dissonance of the Evangelists," and "Letters to the Philosophers and Politicians of France on the Subject of Religion," suggested by the thought, that the position in which he then stood to France gave him an advantage in attempting to urge upon them the evidences of religion. A distinct volume on the Evidences of Revealed Religion also ap-

peared at this time from his busy pen. It would seem to have been thought by some of his philosophical and skeptical friends, that religious persecutions would have shaken or wearied out his attachment to the faith. He lost no opportunity of setting them right on that point. "Excuse me," said he, in answering a commendatory letter from a Philosophical Society, "if I still join theological to philosophical studies, and if I consider the former as greatly superior in importance to mankind to the latter."

From the time that Dr. Priestley was driven from Birmingham, though he fully intended, as we have said, to remain in England, his attachment to that country sensibly declined. "I cannot be supposed to feel much attachment to a country in which I have found neither protection nor redress." It is doubtful, however, whether he would have left England, but for the situation of his sons. He found it impossible to settle them there to advantage, such was the general feeling or fear in regard to the whole family. He encouraged therefore their going to America, especially as they had a scheme, in connexion with Mr. Cooper (well known in this country since) and other English emigrants, of forming a large settlement in Pennsylvania, near the head of the Susquehanna. In this scheme Priestley had no individual concern; but he thought it a promising one for his sons, and determined to follow them. Early in 1794 he took leave, with more emotion than was common for him to show, of his parish, his friends, and a married daughter, from whom a necessary separation, probably for life, and for such causes, was a severe trial. We admire, we reverence, the Christian fortitude and forgiving nobleness of spirit, with which he endured this trial. We see abundant instances, in the letters at this period, of his affection as well as strength of mind, and his domestic as well as public worth. We can give but one of these letters, and that a very short one, written to Mr. Rutt by Samuel Rogers of London, in 1832.

"No man, as you say, could be more amiable in his family than Dr. Priestley, and he had his reward; for no man could be more beloved than he was there. I have, all my life, received delight from the works of the great masters in painting; but no picture of theirs ever affected me half so much as a living one which I saw, a night or two before his departure from this country. The way in which his daughter hung over

him, as he sat in his chair, I can never forget. Though it is now near forty years ago, it is as present to my mind as if it had been yesterday. Yours, &c." — p. 227.

Dr. Priestley sailed from London on the 8th of April, 1794, for New York, where he arrived on the 4th of June, after a rough passage. One of the little incidents, which are of more value than great events, as showing the ceaseless activity and religious tendency of his mind, is seen in a letter which he wrote at sea, where he says, "I think I shall nearly read my New Testament through, before I get to New York, and I think I read it with more satisfaction than ever. Unbelievers, I am confident, do not read it, except with a predisposition to cavil." During the voyage, he wrote and prepared for the press, *Observations on the Cause of the present Prevalence of Infidelity*, to which he was led by the skepticism of his friend Cooper and other intelligent men. He remained in New York two or three weeks, was noticed by Governor Clinton and many other respectable citizens, and was much pleased with their manner of receiving him. He was not, however, invited to preach; for the clergy, though very civil, evidently feared him or the odium attached to him, and one of them, Dr. Rodgers, took some pains to insult him in church. "'I invite,' says he, 'all of you to partake of the Lord's supper; but none,' lifting up his hand, and throwing his palm outward towards Gov. Clinton's seat, where the Priestleys were, 'no, none of those who deny the divinity of our Saviour.'"

Several political and philosophical societies in New York, and the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, hastened to offer Dr. Priestley assurances of respect and cordial welcome. Something was said about his remaining in New York and forming a Unitarian Society. But he soon went to Philadelphia, where he passed a month, and then removed to Northumberland, partly on account of his sons' settling there, though their original plan was relinquished, but more from considerations of economy and his wife's health. Before he was fairly fixed there, he was chosen to the Professorship of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, with the offer of employment as Unitarian preacher also. Had these offers been made sooner, he would probably have accepted them; but, fearing the expense and interruptions of a city residence, and being struck

with the natural beauty and apparent salubrity of Northumberland, he determined to make it his home. The public, however, seemed not willing to lose his talents as an instructor; and a plan for a College at Northumberland was at once started, to which the principal inhabitants largely contributed, appointing him President, and requesting him to prepare a system of study and discipline. He accepted the appointment, declining to receive any emolument, and intending to offer the use of his library and apparatus until others could be procured. The buildings were begun; but some of the largest contributors failed, and little resulted except to show their early confidence in him, and his ardor and generosity in all enterprises of the kind. His own pursuits were not materially affected by the prospect or the failure. He was never idle, never in want of an object. Few minds have depended less on necessity or obligation to labor. He loved labor or rather study, and could not live without it. His writings and publications had been scarcely interrupted by the troubles at Birmingham, by his subsequent removals, his leaving England, his tempestuous voyage, his hurried visits in the busy cities of a new country, or his rural retirement. His mind and his hands were everywhere busy. The pen and the press knew neither trouble nor rest. His unruffled spirit, his untiring interest in his pursuits, and the amount of his labor, in all circumstances, amaze us. At this time, though yet unsettled, with few books or instruments of any kind at hand, and greatly incommoded by the want of a house, we find him writing additional Letters to the unbelieving Philosophers and Politicians of France, answering Paine's *Age of Reason*, then new and much read if not admired, continuing his Church History, and reading much every day in the Hebrew Scriptures. He was once asked to preach in the Presbyterian church, but only once; and after that performed a regular service in his own house or his son's, every Sabbath, joined by a few of their neighbours, chiefly English. As the number increased, the prejudices of the inhabitants lessening with their knowledge of the man in his affable intercourse with them, this religious service was sometimes held by him in a school-room, and the ordinance of the supper administered, to which he always attached great importance.

In the spring of 1796, Dr. Priestley passed three months

in Philadelphia. He was honorably and most kindly noticed by the officers of the University, many distinguished citizens, and some of the clergy of the city, especially by Bishop White, who, from that time to this, has spoken of him with the greatest respect. He was allowed to preach every Sunday morning in the church of Mr. Winchester, a Trinitarian Universalist or Restorationist, who uniformly attended Priestley's services, and partook when he administered the supper, by which he offended some of his own people, who were generally orthodox. In that place Priestley delivered a series of sermons on the Evidences of Revelation, "to congregations so numerous that the house could not contain them." These discourses evidently produced an effect, infidelity being prevalent then, and it being a great novelty to hear Christianity defended in so calm and rational a way. The discourses, closing with one on Unitarianism distinctly, were immediately published. The last Mr. Winchester answered, but not apparently to the satisfaction of his people. Priestley returned to Northumberland, and spent the summer quietly in his favorite pursuits, continuing his experiments on air, studying the Scriptures, and writing chiefly on infidelity, in reply to Volney. At this time he was severely afflicted, first by the death of his youngest son, on whom he had built many hopes as his probable successor in Philosophy if not Theology; and, within a year, by the loss of his wife, whose health had been sensibly affected by their former trials and the death of this son, the first sorrow of the kind and the heaviest to which they were called. On his own mind the effect of these visitations was apparent, but not for a moment gloomy, scarcely depressing. They seemed to attach him the more to the place where they occurred, and to inspire him with new confidence in an overruling Providence, and new energy to fill well the space yet remaining to himself. To Mrs. Barbauld he writes, anticipating an early reunion with his wife, — "How much to be pitied are they who are not Christians! What consolation can they have in their sorrows? Mine have sometimes such a mixture of joy, as hardly to deserve the name." The whole change in his feelings he has again expressed in these few and simple words to Lindsey; "I think now more of another world than I do of this, and pity those who have no faith in it."

In the spring of 1797, he again visited Philadelphia, found a respectable Unitarian society formed there, and delivered another set of discourses on another branch of the evidence of religion. He had not so many hearers, however, as before, on account, as he himself thought, of the novelty being past, and more prejudices disseminated. Politics, too, were violent at this time; and he was suspected of feeling and writing strongly on the side of democracy and in favor of France. That he felt strongly, we are sure, and that his political sentiments were democratical, as the word was then understood. But that he wrote on the subject, or attempted publicly or privately to use political influence, we do not see and do not believe. Indeed his letters, written at the time to friends from whom he concealed nothing, now show, that he purposely kept himself aloof from party politics, and that on this account partly he always refused to be naturalized here. Yet he was suspected and grossly charged with secret political management, with being a thorough radical, in league with France, &c. Cobbett, the publisher of a daily paper in Philadelphia, wrote an abusive pamphlet on his emigration and reception here, which was reprinted in London; and in almost every paper he introduced the name of Priestley in some scurrilous way. It was supposed, too, that influence was used with President Adams, who had corresponded with Priestley and been very friendly, to awaken the prejudices of government; and that the additional restrictions put upon the law of naturalization, about that time, with the passage of the alien law, had some reference to Priestley, and might cause his banishment from the country. We see no evidence that he interfered at all with politics here, though he was much concerned at the suspicions and allegations raised against him; and after some time published "Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland," relating to his own political and religious views, which appear to have given satisfaction to all who were not determined to be dissatisfied.

But very little of his mind or time was consumed in any thing but theology. This absorbed him, when others were accusing him of meddling with far inferior matters. In this second visit to Philadelphia, he sent to the press six distinct publications, bearing chiefly on infidelity, whose prevalence among intelligent men gave him great concern. He could

not see any thing written against Christianity, without wishing to answer it. At this moment Volney was in Philadelphia, and was much talked of and applauded by unbelievers. Priestley was soon engaged in a controversy with him, of which the following extracts from two letters will give some idea; and show also the manner in which a defender of the faith was assailed by the bigoted as well as by the skeptical.

"You will see by the Preface to the Observations, that I intended it as a challenge to M. Volney, who is much looked up to by the unbelievers of this country. He replied in an angry pamphlet, by which he did himself and his cause no sort of credit. A copy of this will be enclosed. This, however, gave me an opportunity of addressing some letters to him, which have been much read, and have evidently made some impression, especially as his behaviour on the occasion has been that of a pettish child, and not that of a man. He refused to receive the copy that I sent him, declaring he would not read it. Notwithstanding the great prevalence of infidelity, to which nothing, I believe, will oppose an effectual barrier at present, I doubt not but my coming hither has done it in a great number of cases, and, in general, it has made the cause of religion more respectable, as not declining, but inviting discussion, from which our enemies evidently shrink. The cause of Unitarianism, also, evidently gains ground, and holds up its head, against bigotry on the one hand and infidelity on the other." — pp. 374, 375.

"Considering my situation in this country, I may almost say with the Apostle, I am set for the defence of the gospel, for nobody else seems disposed to do it. Indeed, but few, I believe, are at all qualified for it. They can bawl out against me as a heretic loud enough, but they have nothing to say to the common enemy, so that I have to look two ways at the same time. However, except avowing my sentiments, which I thought it necessary to do, in a single discourse the last year, I pay no attention whatever to the orthodox, and confine myself to the unbelievers, as by much the more formidable enemy of the two." — p. 372.

These extracts, beside the purpose for which we took them, may serve as instances of what many will call the egotism and vanity, to which we referred in the beginning, as characteristic of Priestley's letters. Of this kind of ego-

tism and vanity, he undeniably possessed a good share. We think there was a mixture of credulity with it. Disposed to think well of others, and to be satisfied with whatever related to himself and his prospects, he often overrated the promise and found himself disappointed in the result. It was thus that he viewed every thing in this country on his first arrival, as in New York and Philadelphia with regard to the early spread of Unitarianism, and again in Northumberland in relation to the College. No one, however, who looks at his whole character and life, will fail to see that this weakness, if such it was, sprung from and made a part of some of the kindest and noblest traits; an open, confiding, contented spirit, a resolute purpose, and a calm, all-conquering faith. It would be difficult to point to the man, who referred every thing, more implicitly and directly, to an overruling, unerring Providence.

This was especially seen in his last days, to which we now approach. The remaining three or four years of his life were passed with little variety, and almost wholly at Northumberland. He visited Philadelphia in 1801, where he had a violent attack of fever, from which he never perfectly recovered. He did enjoy apparent health after it, and worked as laboriously and cheerfully as ever; continuing his philosophical investigations, concluding his "Church History," and writing his "Notes on all the Books of Scripture." The two last works he was enabled to print, by a generous subscription among his friends in England, raised without his knowledge, and sufficient to cover the whole expense. It gave him great pleasure, and was a noble act to crown the last labors of a devoted life. It was not, however, the last instance of generosity toward him. His friends, afterward, hearing that his income would be greatly reduced by some losses, about forty of them, unsolicited, raised the sum of £450, which they designed to continue annually till his death. His death occurred before even the knowledge of it reached him, and the first appropriation was used to publish his posthumous works.

Greater consistency between the life and death of an individual is not often witnessed, than may be seen in the case before us. The close of Priestley's career, to its very last moments, was in perfect harmony with its whole course. Equanimity, cheerfulness, the love of labor, the desire of

knowledge and of usefulness, were strong to the latest breath. For nearly two years before his death, he was greatly troubled at times with indigestion and general debility. To these were added a troublesome degree of deafness, and lameness subsequently, occasioned by a dangerous fall, obliging him to use crutches. But none of these things disturbed in the least his tranquillity, nor impaired the vigor of his mind or the labor of his hands. New plans were formed with as much ardor, and executed with as much promptness and thoroughness, as at any period of his life. It is not often that a man of seventy talks thus of a violent, prostrating sickness; — "Admonished by this, and my advanced state of life (for I am in my seventieth year), that what I do I must do quickly, I have begun to print my 'Church History'; and, if I can supply the necessary funds, this will be followed by my 'Notes on the Scripture.'" He did prepare these for publication, beside several other theological volumes and philosophical papers, and, in the last year of his life, read very largely, and wrote on the doctrines of Heathen Philosophy, compared with those of Revelation. In the same year he visited Philadelphia once more, and, though his voice had become very feeble, preached to the remnant of the Unitarian Society. Returning to Northumberland, he wrote an "Index to the Bible," published two Letters to a Mr. Linn, who had attacked one of his late works, and formed an extensive plan of publishing the whole Bible from the several new translations of different books, with his own corrections. To the Scriptures he now gave his time and thoughts with increased interest and delight, reading them every day, and avowing, with new energy, his decided preference of this to every other study. "I am more interested in it continually. I seem now to see it with other eyes, and all other reading is comparatively insipid." In a letter written but three weeks before his death, the last he ever wrote, he expresses his growing sense of the unspeakable value of Revelation, and his hope, that his health may yet permit him to superintend the new edition of the Bible, adding, in a parenthesis, these touching words, — "though you little imagine how weak I am." One of his last requests was, that his son would read to him the eleventh chapter of John, on the raising of Lazarus, after which he spoke earnestly of the pleasure and advantage he had de-

rived from reading the Scriptures daily, and advised his son to do the same. Indeed he may be said to have finished and yielded up his life, not only in the perusal, but in the laborious study of the sacred records, as is seen in the following passages from the continuation of the Memoirs, relating to the last few days. We intended to give the whole of the concluding scene in his son's words; but that account has been so long published, it cannot be necessary.

"On Friday he was much better. He sat up a good part of the day reading Newcome; Dr. Disney's Translation of the Psalms; and some chapters in the Greek Testament, which was his daily practice. He corrected a proof-sheet of the Notes on Isaiah. When he went to bed he was not so well: he had an idea he should not live another day. At prayer-time he wished to have the children kneel by his bed-side, saying it gave him great pleasure to see the little things kneel; and, thinking he possibly might not see them again, he gave them his blessing.

"On Saturday, the 4th, my father got up for about an hour, while his bed was made. He said he felt more comfortable in bed than up. He read a great deal, and looked over the first sheet of the third volume of the 'Notes,' that he might see how we were likely to go on with it; and, having examined the Greek and Hebrew quotations, and finding them right, he said he was satisfied we should finish the work very well. In the course of the day, he expressed his gratitude in being permitted to die quietly in his family, without pain, with every convenience and comfort he could wish for. He dwelt upon the peculiarly happy situation in which it had pleased the Divine Being to place him in life; and the great advantage he had enjoyed in the acquaintance and friendship of some of the best and wisest men in the age in which he lived, and the satisfaction he derived from having lived an useful as well as a happy life." — p. 529.

In looking over the Eulogy on Priestley, read by Baron Cuvier before the National Institute, and contained in the first volume of the Monthly Repository, we were surprised to see the assertion that Priestley was poisoned. "His food was one day poisoned; it is not known by what means. All the family was endangered, and he himself remained from that time in a languishing state; a gradual decline terminated his existence, after three years of suffering." Where Cuvier found this fact, we cannot imagine; for we have not

seen even an allusion to any thing of the kind in any other place. In the sickness and decline of Priestley, there was nothing peculiar, unless it was his indefatigable industry, uniting with a growing spirit of serenity and devotion, and overcoming all sense of weakness, suffering, and fear. More brilliant deaths, more triumphant in word and appearance, there certainly have been. But more of that elevated and quiet trust, which calmly yields the spirit into the hands of its Father, is not often witnessed. He died February 6th, 1804, at the age of seventy-two, having passed nearly ten years in America.

It was our wish to close this biographical sketch, with a particular notice of Dr. Priestley's character, in all its distinct features. But the room we have already occupied, and the difficulty of the task, — a difficulty which seems to us greater rather than less, as we study his character, — prevent our attempting more than some general remarks. We think, too, as we said in the beginning of our first article, that the character is best seen in the life, and the life we have endeavoured faithfully to present. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the life of a scholar and a theologian lies chiefly in his writings, especially where as much is written, or one fourth as much, as in the instance before us. Of this class of his writings we have given little beside the dates and subjects, and not half of these. It would be no easy task to qualify one's self to judge fairly and speak confidently of all Priestley's writings. And of the many who have spoken confidently, few, whether favorers or opposers, have given proof that they were qualified. But few of his volumes are at all common, and those, we apprehend, more talked of than read. That it should be so with opposers, we can understand; though we cannot understand the conscience that lets them condemn a man, in terms which only betray their ignorance of him and his works. That it should be so with friends, we regret; though it is not difficult to understand that also. Never was a man more thoroughly independent in forming his opinions, or more thoroughly honest and careless in expressing those opinions, than Priestley. During a long life, uncommonly agitated with change, incident, exposure, and attack, social, scientific, political, and religious, we do not believe the charge was ever seriously brought

against him, of courting popularity, selling conscience, or surrendering one tittle of honesty for preferment or temporal gain of any kind. And when this is said, and said truly, a great deal of bitter opposition on one side, and timid confidence or measured approval on the other, is explained.

Of Priestley's character as a Philosopher, we are not fitted to speak, except from the opinion of those who witnessed the first effect of his investigations, and those who can judge of them now after the violence of prejudice has abated. That he could have accomplished all he did accomplish in this province with every thing else, and that too with the general approbation of his contemporaries, notwithstanding all prejudices, is no equivocal praise. His "*History of Electricity*" was composed in one year, and soon passed to the third edition. He intended to follow it with similar histories of every branch of science, prepared in his *leisure* hours; for stated duty, especially religious, was never postponed to any other pursuit. We should have said his habits of mind and study were not the best for a philosopher. But we do not learn, various as were the subjects of his inquiry and the papers which he published, that he is thought to have fallen into more than one important error, that relating to the doctrine of phlogiston; while it is the testimony of all, given in terms of unusual strength by many, that he contributed very largely to the cause of true science. Mr. Rutt opens the present volume with quoting an opinion on this subject, which some may think extravagant, but which Lindsey says was communicated to him by "a most capable judge." It follows;

"To enumerate Dr. Priestley's discoveries, would, in fact, be to enter into a detail of most of those that have been made within the last fifteen years. How many invisible fluids, whose existence evaded the sagacity of foregoing ages, has he made known to us! The very air we breathe he has taught us to analyze, to examine, to improve; a substance so little known, that even the precise effect of respiration was an enigma, till he explained it. He first made known to us the proper food of vegetables, and in what the difference between these and animal substances consists. To him pharmacy is indebted for the method of making artificial mineral waters, as well as for a shorter method of preparing other medicines; metallurgy, for more powerful and cheaper solvents; and chemistry, for such a variety of discoveries as it would be tedious to re-

cite ; discoveries which have new-modelled that science, and drawn to it, and to this country, the attention of Europe.

"It is certain that, since the year 1773, the eyes of all the learned bodies in Europe have been directed to this country by his means. In every philosophical treatise his name is to be found, and in almost every page. They all own that most of their discoveries are due either to the repetition of his discoveries, or to the hints scattered through his works." — pp. 1, 2.

The man of whom this could be said, was in the habit of ascribing his fortunate philosophical results to "unexpected good success." And it is a striking proof of the miserable bias of party, that this excess of candor should have tempted some to deprive him, if possible, of all credit, by calling it accidental. It was done in a few instances at first. It has been done recently by one in our own community, who has been silly and malicious enough to revive, and indeed to surpass, the worst charges brought against Priestley. How contemptibly little do such things appear by the side of the noble sentiment of Cuvier, who thus speaks of the same frankness and humility. "Priestley, loaded with glory, was modest enough to be astonished at his good fortune, and at the multitude of admirable discoveries which nature seemed to have reserved for him alone ; forgetting that her favors were not gratuitous ; that the truths she had so satisfactorily revealed, were extorted by his indefatigable perseverance and ingenious methods of interrogation." Cuvier speaks throughout this Eulogy, before referred to, in as high praise of Priestley's philosophical character, as the writer quoted above ; and at the same time shows the impartiality of this testimony, by speaking with equal strength and less discrimination of his erroneous and mournful religious character.

We only add, that the hundredth anniversary of Dr. Priestley's birth, was recently celebrated in London, by a public dinner, at which between one hundred and two hundred gentlemen were present, comprising some of the most eminent scientific characters in that metropolis, of different religious and political parties ; but "all united in the endeavour to do honor to a man, who was unhonored in his age and his country." One could hardly desire a more honorable or grateful tribute than this.

Of Priestley as a Theologian, we feel more competent to

judge, though we cannot pretend to that qualification which might result from having read the whole of all his works; a qualification which one could not attain very early in life, if he attempted much else. And this suggests the remark, which every one seems disposed to make first, and in which we are impelled to join; viz. that Priestley wrote too fast and too much on Theology, or wrote too fast and published too much. The complete edition of his works consists of twenty-five octavo volumes of more than five hundred pages each. The catalogue at the end of this volume gives us about one hundred and fifty distinct publications, of which more than two thirds are theological. Many of these are of a character, as is well known, to require very extensive and careful research. And with all the changes and active duties of such a life, we need no other facts to be convinced that he could not have done himself or his subjects full justice. The style and character of some of his writings confirm this opinion. We do not believe them to be essentially defective, as has been sometimes thought; we do not see reason for withholding general confidence from any of his works, from fear of great inaccuracy. But we see defects, particularly of style, which are not only unnecessary, but decidedly injurious both to the general reputation and the direct effect of his writings. He did not attach importance enough to style. But he did attach too much importance to the mere circumstance of coming out forthwith. We are inclined to say, too, that, as a general habit, he overrated the importance and probable influence of his separate productions. He was eager, ardent, confident, burning with a noble zeal to be always doing and always useful, and hurried by his zeal into the belief that the one was identical with the other. He paid little attention to manner; the matter was all he wished to gain and all he aimed to give. He never polished, he hardly finished. We can scarcely recall a sentence, on whose language or construction he seems to have bestowed pains. To make his meaning clear, to state a fact or a truth so that no one need mistake it, was always his aim, but nothing beyond this. Indeed he appears to have feared too cautious a habit of writing, while conscious of being too careless. "I am too apt to write in a hurry," he says in one letter. In another, he wishes Belsham may be urged not to be too nice; "If

I had been so, I should have done nothing." He would have done nothing in comparison as regards the number of volumes. But we believe, after all that is to be said of the peculiarity of his time and the situations in which he was placed, that he would have done quite as much for the permanent good of society, and much more for his own name. We honor him for being willing to sacrifice, as it is evident he knew he was sacrificing, reputation to usefulness. We honor him for that remarkable simplicity of purpose, directness of thought, and clearness of expression, which render every sentence that he ever wrote as intelligible as words can make it. In this excellence, remembering the diversity and extent of his writings, he is unsurpassed. But to this might have been joined, and should have been, a care that would have added strength, and an ambition that would have looked beyond immediate to final effects.

This want of care, however, is most to be regretted in the expression of opinions. We do not speak of honesty and fearlessness in regard to opinions themselves, for these must always command respect where opinions have been carefully formed and are conscientiously held. We refer now to the *manner* of expressing opinions, those especially which we know will be startling and wounding to the honest religious feelings of many. Such feelings are always to be respected. Religious prejudices are always to be respected; and respected not only in fact, but in appearance, in language, in expression of whatever kind. In this, we must think, Priestley often erred. He did respect the feelings of others, of all. No man had a higher respect for honest differences of feeling and judgment. But he took little pains, often no pains, to save feelings and win judgment. He took no pains apparently (we speak only of his pen, not of his purpose) to avoid expressions totally unlike the received and approved expressions, or to avoid associations foreign to those most prevalent in religion, and deemed most sacred. Take for example, as we have not room to be more definite, one of his last productions, "*Socrates and Jesus Compared*." Its very title, and much of its plan and style, and his defences of it, are such as do unnecessary violence to the faith and feeling, right as well as wrong, of thousands. We know its purpose was excellent. There could not be a better purpose, or one more likely to con-

found a favorite argument of infidelity, than to show, that Socrates, allowing all that any can claim for him, was immeasurably inferior to the least that can be thought of Jesus, if he is allowed to have existed at all. It is folly to say, that such modes of reasoning are not admissible, when such ground is taken by intelligent unbelievers. It is more than folly, it is faithlessness and wickedness, to call him the enemy of religion and God, who uses such weapons as Priestley used in this work and the controversy that ensued. Still we do think, that those weapons might have been better used by the same hands, better tempered, better shaped, and wielded more to the advantage of Christianity. It requires all our respect for his character, and an intimate knowledge and constant recollection of his singleness of heart and devotedness to truth and duty, to save us from suffering what we have suffered, and are sometimes in danger of suffering now, from many of his remarks and expressions. It may be weakness. It may be fastidiousness. We know it is not singularity. We believe it is not a trifle. And we say more upon this point than we otherwise should, because while it raises a serious obstacle to the usefulness of Priestley's writings, it appears in the writings of many others of his countrymen, and has not seemingly been viewed by them in that religious aspect and influence which truly belong to it.

Our objections to Priestley extend also to some of his opinions and speculations. That we differ from one so great and good, may not be of the least importance; but we should not be honest or consistent, if we did not express it. We do marvel and grieve, at the manner in which he sometimes views and treats the most important and difficult questions. He does not seem to us to have been deficient in feeling. By no means. But there was something that prevented him from entering into the feelings of others. He did not appreciate all the sacredness and tenderness of religious associations. He did not, we think, enter fully into the beauties and glories, the hallowed and solemn grandeur, of our Saviour's character. Or, if he did, we cannot understand nor pardon the manner, in which he allows himself to speak and speculate on that and some other topics, as inspiration, regeneration, and eternity. There were other peculiarities in his Scriptural readings, which may affect no moral principle and be harmless, but which were singular as

connected with such a mind. We allude particularly to his confident expectation of Christ's second appearance in person, at no distant period. "You may probably live to see it; I shall not. It cannot, I think, be more than twenty years." So far was he from rejecting prophecy, as some have accused him, that he was an enthusiast in regard to it, and saw clearly, in passing events, the fulfilment of predictions in the Old Testament and the Apocalypse. He believed that England and France were soon to suffer in this cause, and that possibly Bonaparte was the deliverer promised to Egypt in Isaiah. These things are the more remarkable, as he certainly was not hasty in the adoption of opinions, nor did he like to see haste in others. "I am far from wishing to make ready converts, as they are seldom steady ones. Besides, I never was a ready convert to any thing myself; but in general a very slow one, thinking long before I decided."

If we have spoken freely our objections, we incline to express more freely and strongly our confidence and admiration. Priestley was a candid, humble, immovable, devout, and devoted Christian. If he was not, if his writings and life do not demonstrate it, we deny that it can be demonstrated of any man past or present. It is trifling with Christianity and with every-day facts, to send us to a man's creed in proof of his piety, while you refuse to admit the evidence of his character and life. It is as great an offence against the character and teaching of Christ, as any heresy you can broach. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

We had marked several passages in the different works of Priestley, which show simply and clearly his Christian firmness and fervor. We are restrained from offering many of them, by the space already used, and by seeing that selections from his writings are soon to be given to the public, in a way that will do him more justice than he has yet received. He is not known. There are proofs, scattered through all his works, of uncommon faith and devotion. There is no subject that he has not touched; there is no branch of evidence that he has not illustrated; there is no institution or ordinance of religion that he has not maintained with his pen and his example. The authority of the Old Testament and of the New, miracles, prophecies, the Sabbath, public worship, private prayer, the Lord's supper, baptism, all found in him a believer, and, when assailed, a

vigorous defender. To heads of families he wrote earnestly on the duty of family worship, and always observed it in his own house. For children he labored incessantly in his parish and through the press. To young men he addressed considerations and warnings in regard to their most common vices, with a plainness which is much applauded in others.* For the duty, the pleasure, and the benefit of reading the Scriptures habitually, no man's precepts or life have pleaded more strongly. Look at one passage from his Sermon on the Duty of Mutual Exhortation, beside the incidental proofs which have been seen in his life.

"So strongly is my mind impressed with a sense of the importance of the habitual reading of the Scriptures, both from considering the nature of the thing, and from the best attention that I have been able to give to particular characters and facts, that I do not see how those persons who neglect it, and who have no satisfaction in habitually meditating on the infinitely important subjects to which they relate, can be said to have any thing of Christianity besides the name."

Observe too with what gratitude and sense of dependence and weakness, he speaks of the observance of the Sabbath and of religious forms.

"I own myself to be so far from Christian perfection, that I think myself happy in such a necessary mode of spending my time, especially on Sundays, as serves to keep up a constant attention to my situation as an accountable being, to my relation to God, and my dependence upon him, so that I cannot be long without being reminded of my destination to a future and everlasting state; as by this means I hope I am more in the way of acquiring those sentiments and habits which will qualify me for it. Let others fancy that they can do without these ordinary helps; I cannot but think there would be more wisdom in a greater distrust of themselves. *Happy is he that feareth always.*" †

Of all the libels that have fallen upon Priestley, the most singular is that which accuses him of infidelity. We do not believe a more clear or assured believer can be found

* These "Considerations for the Use of Young Men," were published in Boston, in 1808, it is believed, by Mr. Buckminster, together with Zollikoffer's two Sermons on the "Sins of Unchastity"; a pamphlet that should not be lost.

† Letters on Public Worship to a Young Man. Works, Vol. XX.

in any denomination. Every thing shows it. The very character of his mind was to scrutinize and question. He did scrutinize and question every subject that he approached. And the more he scrutinized revelation, the more closely and boldly he tested its evidences and influences, the stronger was his faith, the more devoted and disinterested his attachment. We say disinterested, in view not only of the trials and losses to which his faith subjected him, and the further trials and losses to which he exposed himself by adherence to that faith, but also in view of the temptations, if not solicitations, thrown in his way by politicians and philosophers. His position was not a common one. Persecuted by loyalists for being a radical, reviled by Churchmen for being a Dissenter, reprobated by Dissenters as a leader of heretics, exiled from his own country for advocating liberty and toleration, vilified and threatened as a seditious alien in the country to which he fled, regarded as an unbeliever by most Christians, and ridiculed as a Christian by unbelievers,—it required some firmness of conviction, some power and blessing of conscience, to keep him true to himself and his God. Did he ever waver? He clung the more to that which man could not wrest from him. Denounced more loudly than the most notorious infidels, he calmly went on opposing those infidels, and challenging them single-handed to the combat. While repelling the assaults of Volney in Philadelphia, he says, "The prevalence of infidelity is astonishing; and yet, notwithstanding all I have done to oppose its progress, in which I am single, I was last Sunday (and I believe frequently am) preached against in this very place as a deist; and lie under much greater odium than any professed unbeliever." The adherence of such a man to Christianity, in such circumstances, is worth tenfold more, if not as an argument for the religion, as a proof of his sincerity, than the uninquiring, all-devouring faith of the most orthodox. The very mildness with which he answers the charge of infidelity, when made in conversation, is delightful and convincing. "If sincerely believing in the divine mission of Moses is deism, then I am a deist; if believing in the inspiration of the Prophets is deism, then the charge is just; or if believing that Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by the Prophets, and that he died and rose again from the dead, is deism, then do I merit the appellation."

Priestley's connexion with philosophical unbelievers, and their friendship and respect for him, gave him peculiar opportunities of presenting to them the reasons of his own faith. He used those opportunities, as we have seen, particularly as he advanced in life, and felt the power and joy of religious belief. In the Preface to one of his last works,* he speaks thus of some eminent and prosperous unbelievers, as Voltaire and Frederick of Prussia.

"No Christian, in the humblest and most afflicted situation in life, need to envy them. I would not exchange my own feelings even in those situations in which they would have thought me an object of compassion, for all the satisfaction they could have enjoyed in the happiest scenes of their lives.

"I wish it were possible for me to convey to my philosophical, unbelieving friends, the feeling I have of the value of Christianity, a value which is enhanced by the experience of a pretty long and various life, in which Christian principles have been of the most substantial use to me, both in prosperity and in adversity; and, as they have supported me through life, they will, I doubt not, afford consolation in the hour of death. But it is not in the power of language to express all I feel on this subject."

And to Volney he appeals with a simplicity and tenderness, that ought to touch the heart of Christians at least.

"But religion is not only the guide of life, but supplies the best support under the troubles of it, and at the approach of death; and of this your principles would deprive men. And what have you to give them in its place? Being a much older man than you, I have had more experience of the value of religion in this respect than you can have; I have had many trials and some heavy losses, which have left a void which nothing in the world can fill; and yet I would not exchange my sorrows for your joys. Were you in my situation, I should regard you with compassion; for I bear you no ill will. Could you, Sir, have the feelings that I sometimes have, you would give all the world, if you had it, to be a Christian."†

It was this that crowned Priestley's faith with its peculiar strength and brightness. It was his *experience* of its support and full blessings. Religion was to him an habitual comforter. No one can read his letters without seeing that his

* Observations on the Increase of Infidelity: Preface. Works, Vol. XVII.

† Letters to Volney.

mind flies to it perpetually, and stays itself upon this rock as upon God. It reveals God to him in every thing, and makes the doctrine of a universal and particular providence one of the most familiar associations of life, a part of the life, blending itself with ordinary incidents, and having power over all feelings. We believe his own convictions and habits prompted in him the strong sentiment, and led him to fix the high standard, which the following declaration contains. "A person of an habitually pious disposition, who regards the hand of God in every thing, will not take up a newspaper without reflecting that he is going to see what God has wrought, and considering what it is that he is apparently about to work."

Such, so far as we have been able here to present such a character, was Dr. Priestley. Of the many tributes that have been paid to his memory, there are two of great value, because from great and good men, differing widely in opinion from the subject of their eulogy, — Dr. Parr and Robert Hall. The testimony of the former to Priestley's "superlative talents" and "exemplary morals," we suppose to be more familiar to our readers than that of the latter, for which alone we will ask room. Robert Hall, in his remarks on "Christianity consistent with a Love of Freedom," from which we have already quoted, thus speaks of Priestley and the persecutions he encountered.

"The religious tenets of Dr. Priestley appear to me erroneous in the extreme; but I should be sorry to suffer any difference of sentiment to diminish my sensibility to virtue or my admiration of genius. From him the poisoned arrow will fall pointless. His enlightened and active mind, his unwearied assiduity, the extent of his researches, the light which he has poured into almost every department of science, will be the admiration of that period when the greater part of those who have favored, or those who have opposed him, will be alike forgotten. Distinguished merit will ever rise superior to oppression, and will draw lustre from reproach. The vapors which gather round the rising sun, and follow it in its course, seldom fail at the close of it to form a magnificent theatre for its reception, and to invest with variegated tints, and with a softened effulgence, the luminary which they cannot hide."

We see in Gregory's "Life of Robert Hall," that these and similar noble sentiments drew upon their author the seri-

ous displeasure of his friends. And when he even publicly declared, that, if "he were the Judge of all, he could not condemn Dr. Priestley," some of his elders in the ministry earnestly remonstrated with him, as exposing himself to the guilt and danger of admitting, that a "Socinian might see the kingdom of God!" We regret, that magnanimity so rare should be rebuked by a spirit so narrow. It may be, that the generous and fearless defender of an injured man was in less danger and less need of forgiveness, than those who reproved his Christian charity. We rejoice in the persuasion, that Priestley and Hall have already found that the communion of heaven is larger than that of earth, and that its peace is never jarred by the harsh sound of Socinian or Baptist, as it annexes to its privileges but one condition,—a condition which they had both observed,—the devotion of the heart and the consecration of the life to truth, Christ, and God.

As we were finishing this article, we were directed to a Letter in the *late* "Spirit of the Pilgrims," addressed to the Conductors of the Examiner by Mr. Cheever, and containing another assault on Dr. Priestley. Mr. Cheever is either a very weak and vain, or an unprincipled man. Neither our self-respect nor our consciences will permit us to give him more than this brief notice, having already sinned in noticing him at all. The amount of his apology or explanation now, in regard to his having called Priestley and others infidels, is, that to write in favor of Christianity is no proof of piety. No one said it was. The question had no reference to degrees of piety, but to infidelity; and if Mr. Cheever cannot see the distinction, he ought never to mention either. We are fully aware, that to defend Christianity is not, necessarily, to be a Christian. We are also aware, that to defend Orthodoxy is not, necessarily, to be a Christian. We know, to our grief, that to hold all the doctrines called Evangelical, and advocate them vehemently, is compatible with a temper and a faith as far from the Christian, as the east is from the west. Mr. Cheever has come precisely to the point to which we said he was coming. He has defined Christianity to be Orthodoxy, and infidelity anti-orthodoxy. We therefore have less cause of complaint, as all he means when he calls us infidels, is that we are not Orthodox, — a reproach which we can bear.

ART. II. — *Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a native African and a Slave. Dedicated to the Friends of the Africans.* Boston. Published by George W. Light. 1834. 12mo. pp. 103.

THE work before us is a neat duodecimo volume, fairly printed on good paper, and ornamented with a lithographic likeness of the (we had almost said fair) authoress. It comprises upwards of a hundred pages. The Memoir prefixed is ably and feelingly written, and contains all, as we suppose, that is now known of Phillis Wheatley. We shall endeavour to give a brief abstract of it.

In the year 1761 she was selected, sick and almost literally naked, from a group of slaves who were publicly sold in Boston market, by Mr. John Wheatley, whose wife wanted a young domestic. She was apparently about seven years old, spoke no English, and, when she did acquire it, could recollect nothing of her early life, save the single fact that her mother had been accustomed to pour water on the ground at the rising of the sun. The excellent lady of her purchaser treated her in the most exemplary manner, and her daughter undertook to teach Phillis to read and write. Her progress was truly extraordinary. Within sixteen months of her arrival, she could read the most difficult parts of the sacred writings understandingly, and in 1765 she wrote a letter to Mr. Occum, an Indian Minister then in England. Such proofs of talent, together with her humble and affectionate disposition, won the heart of her mistress, whose companion she became, instead of a menial, as was at first intended.

The developement of her mind outstripped her growth so much, that she attracted the notice of the literary characters of the time, many of whom furnished her with books. These stimulated her thirst for knowledge, and she attempted to acquire the Latin tongue, and actually made considerable progress in it. Neither these advantages, nor the notice she constantly received, appear to have had any effect on her excellent disposition. She continued grateful, humble, and loving.

Her mind seems to have been peculiarly susceptible of religious impressions, as, indeed, we have observed most of

her race are, when any one will take the pains to teach them. At the age of sixteen she joined the Old South Church, and became an ornament to it. The little poem following may serve to exemplify the quiet piety which is the characteristic of all her writings.

"ON BEING BROUGHT FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA.

" 'T was mercy brought me from my pagan land,
Gave my benighted soul to understand
That there 's a God, — that there 's a Saviour too :
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye, —
' Their color is a diabolic dye.'
Remember, Christians, negroes black as Cain
May be refined, and join the angelic train.' — p. 42.

In the winter of 1773 Phillis's health had so far declined, that her physician recommended a sea voyage. A son of Mr. Wheatley, being about to proceed to England on business, took Phillis with him, in the nineteenth year of her age. Her fame had gone before her, and she was received with singular distinction by very many distinguished individuals, and her poems were then first published, dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon. That so much flattering notice should not have turned her head and changed her heart, is highly to her honor. She was invited to remain in London till the court should return to St. James's, in order that she might be presented to the king, and would probably have consented ; but, hearing that her beloved mistress was sick and desired her to return, she reëmbarked without hesitation or delay. O woman, worthy of a better fate !

Mrs. Wheatley died the next year, and her husband soon followed her to the grave. Their son had settled in England, and Phillis was left utterly desolate. Poverty was upon her with all its countless miseries, when she accepted an offer of marriage from a colored man named Peters, the best match, apparently, she could make. He was a man of polished manners and dressed well. He was moreover a person of good education, had studied law, and tradition says, that he actually did plead many cases at the bar, and generally with success, a fact we do not find noticed in the book. Soon after he married Phillis he became a bankrupt,

and being, in his own opinion, too much of a gentleman to practice any manual occupation, his wife was reduced to great distress. The Revolution broke out, the people were fleeing from Boston, and Phillis suffered, at the same time, from sickness and absolute want. She became in those stormy times the mother of three children, all of whom died young.

Phillis and her husband went to Newburyport during the siege of Boston. After the evacuation of the city by the king's troops, she returned and was received into the house of a niece of her former mistress, who was a widow and kept a small school for her support. She and her daughter ministered to Phillis and her children for six weeks, when her husband took them away to an apartment he had hired, but did little or nothing for their support. What became of them afterwards will be best told in the words of the writer of the Memoir himself.

"In a filthy apartment, in an obscure part of the metropolis, lay the dying mother and the wasting child. The woman, who had stood honored and respected in the presence of the wise and good of that country which was hers by adoption, or rather compulsion, who had graced the ancient halls of Old England, and rolled about in the splendid equipages of the proud nobles of Britain, was now numbering the last hours of life in a state of the most abject misery, surrounded by all the emblems of squalid poverty!

"Little more remains to be told. It is probable (as frequently happens when the constitution has long borne up against disease), that the thread of life, attenuated by suffering, at last snapped suddenly; for the friends of Phillis, who had visited her in her sickness, knew not of her death. Peters did not see fit to acquaint them with the event, or to notify to them her interment. A grand niece of Phillis's benefactress, passing up Court Street, met the funeral of an adult and a child; a bystander informed her they were bearing Phillis Wheatley to that silent mansion, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'

"They laid her away in her solitary grave, without a stone to tell that one so good and so gifted sleeps beneath; and the waters of oblivion are rapidly erasing her name from the sands of time." — pp. 23, 24.

Such was the fate of Phillis Wheatley, a heroine, though a black one. Perhaps her genius, her unquestionable virtues,

the vicissitudes of her life, and her melancholy end ought to excite as much interest as the fate of Lady Jane Grey, of Mary, Queen of Scots, or any other heroine, ancient or modern; but such, we fear, will not be the case. She was a negro, and therefore entitled to no pity or regard. What matters it that a negro has talents and virtues? — what matters it that she suffers?

We turn to her poetry. It seems to us respectable, though not of a high order. Yet how many of the white writers of this country have enjoyed a transient reputation on much less intrinsic merit! What proportion of the rhymesters, who enrich our newspapers and magazines with their effusions, can write half so well as Phillis Wheatley? She had no assistance. Like one of her favorite authors, "she lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." She seems to have begun to write verses as soon as she had sufficient command of the English language to express her ideas, — certainly before she could have known any thing of the rules of composition. Accordingly, we find some ill-constructed and harsh and prosaic lines, but not so many by half as in the verses of most of her contemporary American poets. That her lines are full of feeling, no one will deny who has read the extract we have already given. That she had considerable originality will be apparent from her epigraph on Dr. Sewall.

"Lo, here, a man, redeemed by Jesus' blood,
A sinner once, but now a saint with God.
Behold, ye rich, ye poor, ye fools, ye wise,
Nor let his monument your heart surprise;
'T will tell you what this holy man has done,
Which gives him brighter lustre than the sun.
Listen, ye happy, from your seats above.
I speak sincerely, while I speak and love.
He sought the paths of piety and truth,
By these made happy from his early youth.
In blooming years that grace divine he felt,
Which rescues sinners from the chains of guilt.
Mourn him, ye indigent, whom he has fed,
And henceforth seek, like him, for living bread;
Ev'n Christ, the bread descending from above,
And ask an int'rest in his saving love.
Mourn him, ye youth, to whom he oft has told
God's gracious wonders, from the times of old.

I, too, have cause, this mighty loss to mourn,
For he, my monitor, will not return.
Oh, when shall we to his blest state arrive?
When the same graces in our bosoms thrive?"

pp. 45, 46.

Phillis had a peculiarity of intellect which is not often met with. Her memory was very ill regulated. That it must have been uncommonly strong, in some things, is self-evident, else how could she have acquired the English language in so short a time? — how could she have mastered the Latin? Yet in other matters it was very defective. It has been seen that she could remember but one solitary fact, connected with her life, previous to her seventh year. The memory of other children reaches much further back. When she composed, she could not retain her own composition in her mind, and was obliged either to lose it or commit it instantly to paper. We offer no solution of this anomaly, — it is enough that it must have been a great disadvantage to a person of literary pursuits.

Phillis Wheatley, we think, was a precocious genius, destined very rapidly to acquire a certain degree of excellence, and there to stop for ever. As mediocrity, or even moderate merit in song, is never tolerated, we dare not hope that her works will ever be very popular or generally read; for readers never take into account the disadvantages the writer may have labored under. It is not just that they should; for otherwise the land would be flooded with bad writings, to the exclusion and discouragement of good. It is little consolation to him, who has wasted his time and money in buying and reading a wretched production, to be told that it was written by an apprentice or a woman. We do not mean by this to express any disapprobation of the publication before us, but merely to say that, singular as its merits are, they are not of the kind that will command admiration. Still the work will live, — there will always be friends enough of liberty and of the cause of negro improvement not to let it sink into oblivion, and many will desire to possess it as a curiosity. We wish the publisher success, and, if any thing we can say shall contribute to it, we shall heartily rejoice. As a friend of the Africans and of mankind at large, we are happy to record our tribute of praise in behalf of one who was an honor and ornament to her race and her kind.

Born in a land of darkness, the grasp of the spoiler first woke her from the dream of her infancy. Ruthlessly torn from home and parents, no kind arm supported her head or ministered to her wants during the horrors of the middle passage. The crack of the whip, the screams of suffocating and famishing human beings, and the clank of chains were the lullaby of her childish slumbers. Ignorant, naked, and forlorn, she stood up in a foreign land to be sold, like a beast in the market, to strangers whose pity she had not even a voice to demand. A brighter dawn flashed on her mind. Her own intelligence and energy supplied the want of instruction. In the midst of the obloquy attached to her hue, she reached an intellectual eminence known to few of the females of that day, and not common even now. The treasures of literature became hers, — the gospel shone upon her. Grateful, humble, pious, and affectionate, prosperity made no change in her heart. Flattery could not make her vain, — pleasure diminished not her gratitude, — starvation and ill usage never turned her from her duty. Her worthless husband never heard a syllable of reproach from the dying mother by the side of her dying child. She died in suffering and starvation, and is gone to take the rank which she earned, in a place where many who may despise her for a skin not colored like their own, will never come.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. III. — *Spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures.* — No. I. *The Creation.*

IN order to comprehend the Spirit of the Old Testament, we must not look into it for what is not there. We must remember, that the instructions it contains were addressed to men in the infancy of the race, and through the instrumentality of men, who, though taught by "the Spirit which giveth understanding," yet were limited in their power of taking in what was so freely poured upon them, not only by the finiteness common to all men, but by their partaking of the spirit and character of the age in which they lived.

We should remember too, that, although this limitation of

their comprehension was not an absolute hindrance to their power of mediation between God and the mass of the race, (whose education Providence always commits to the gifted of the same race, seemingly because this method gives play to that social action, in which is found the happiness of the intellect and affections;) yet it involves the necessity of certain considerations on the part of those who in a subsequent age, study the records of this mediation. There is a medium of communication between man and man, which, being partly his own contrivance, partakes of the finiteness and transitoriness of all human things. Language varies not only with the country, but with the age of the world; and it is not perfectly translatable. This is a most important consideration, but one, of which all sound-minded persons are capable, after a few facts collected by the learned are laid before their judgment.

It is often said that poetry existed before prose. But to many minds this proposition conveys no clear idea; because they have no clear ideas of the limits of poetry and prose. What then are these limits?

Poetry is the expression of abstract and spiritual truth by sensible objects, by the forms, colors, sounds, changes, combinations of external nature. The foundation of the possibility of such an expression is the fact, that the human mind in its original principles, and the natural creation, in its simplicity, are but different images of the same Creator, who has linked them for the reciprocal developement of their mutual treasures. The primitive languages, therefore, were naturally poetic, that is, synthetic in their genius, like the minds that used them.

But as society becomes ramified, and people act upon each other, and talk by imitation and custom, and not from within, a thousand arbitrary and accidental associations connect themselves with words, and even with things, which deaden and shut out the impressions they would naturally make. And then, as the mind begins to analyze, there arises the analytical expression of thought, and words that were once pictures become counters. This is prose, which has but one advantage over poetry, that it is a more precise expression of the differences of things, and for this advantage it sacrifices force, and impressiveness, and exciting power. But, although the poetical expression of thought, constituted

language only in the earlier stages of the human mind, yet, as it is the only adequate expression of sensibility, it must always exist as a part of all languages; and, in the poetical vein of our native tongue, we must find the key of interpretation to the language of the Old Testament, which is entirely primitive. Herder has undertaken to give us the peculiar genius of the Hebrew language, in his beautiful work on Hebrew poetry. Having first shown that, in the northern languages, wherever the words are not absolute counters, they are an echo from external nature, unmodified by the influence from within the mind; and that, in the languages of the south of Europe, this echo is reacted upon by the genius and sensibility of those who speak them; he contrasts with these the language of the Oriental, *breathing his thoughts deep out of his breast, the very sound of feeling in the original perception of its exciting causes.* He then points out the genius of the Hebrew tongue in particular, as displayed in the formation and derivation of its words from the original roots, and of those original roots from external and internal nature.

But what it is so desirable should be generally understood, is this genius of the Hebrew language, as influencing the style of construction, the method of presenting thought. With all its adjectives nouns, and all its nouns verbs, and all abstract ideas only indicated by modulations of the voice, or aspirations more or less deep, metaphor became a necessity of daily speech. So vague was the language, that the very attempt to analyze thought seems to have been given up as in despair, and an approximation only to the expression of abstract and spiritual ideas was attempted, by acting upon the imagination through the senses, trusting that the imagination would in its turn stimulate the conscience, and awaken and gradually develop the reasoning powers.

Enough hints, however, have been given on this subject here; and we now turn to a third preliminary consideration necessary to the reader of the Old Testament. We must remember that its various writers had various objects, and that none of them professed to declare the whole counsel of God, but only his relations to the individuals they addressed, and their relations to each other. Moses had for his object to give laws, by which the saving principles of religion might be preserved from that absolute corruption, by which

they were generally made to degrade the nature they are destined to perfect ; and, incidentally, he presents some answers to those great questions, which always stir the minds of individual men, in the very beginning of their development, on the origin of the outward world, the source of moral obligation, and the cause of moral evil.

The Annalists of the Old Testament had for their object, to communicate those great national events, which, as their lawgiver had predicted, were the record of God's judgment upon the conduct of the government, in its great duty of preserving, by means of faithfulness to their ritual law, the religion of the patriarchs uncorrupted by idolatry. It was requisite for this object that they should be simple and honest, and should tell, in so many words, what took place ; and that they were honest and simple is evident, from their dark record of weakness, and crime, and punishment, which no national vanity has tempted them to mantle. It was not requisite, to fit them for their work, that they should understand metaphysics ; and that they did not, is evident, from their making God the agent, not only of all the good, but of some of the bad actions they record.

The Psalmists of the Old Testament had for their object, to awaken and keep alive an enthusiasm for the Temple worship, which was "a safeguard of holy rites" to preserve the Patriarchal religion for posterity. For this end, it was indeed necessary that they should have been penetrated with that sentiment of personal piety, which teaches that God has an interest in individual man, and that this interest is deep, tender, sympathetic, and regardful of the moral purity of his creatures ; but it was not requisite, and it could not have been otherwise than miraculous, that they should have understood the universal attributes of Providence, as displayed in Christianity ;—and it is worthy of all consideration, that, *within the mind*, there is no miracle supposable, without destroying the very foundations of morality.

The Proverbialists and moral preachers of the Old Testament, have collected the wisdom of their predecessors in short apothegms or in apologues. These proverbs and discourses are certainly not the perfection of reason, but they all contain important truths ; and, while they meet the indolence of the oriental mind, are calculated to produce some intellectual action, leading to greater, which was doubtless their aim.

The Prophets of the Old Testament had for their immediate object, to warn the people, by a display of the miseries of surrounding nations, from national crimes and follies ; and for their general object, to reveal the moral effects of the ritual, as its ultimate end ; by which moral effects a better time was to be ushered in, when other faculties of the soul should be so far developed, that the necessity of acting upon the moral nature through the imagination addressed by the senses, a method involving so many disadvantages, should be done away ; and the spirit of God should commune with the spirit of man face to face, through the mediation of one who should have perfected his nature, and thus become enabled to declare the whole counsel of God, and to make it intelligible too, by his perfect sympathy with man ; at once bearing the character of the son of man and the son of God.

Our present purpose relates, however, only to the first writer of the Old Testament.

Moses' writings are generally considered the first dispensation of Revelation. But this is not exactly accurate. The first revelation was necessarily unwritten. It consisted, perhaps, of the very events, out of which Moses has made a selection for the introduction of his Law. For Events must have been Revelations, when only first principles were at work, as in the earliest times. Men had not then become powerful enough to set a going such a number of second causes, as now operate in the inner world. There were no moral circumstances, because men had not yet had time to create them ; there were only natural circumstances. Hence, it was hardly a figure of speech, to say, "The Lord spoke." All reflection was indeed a conversation with the Lord. Adam's communion with himself on circumstances, was a perpetual and almost unmixed revelation. Self-communion continued to be so, until man began to act upon himself and his race, through the medium of habit, custom, and social institutions. It was in this state of things, probably, that language received that idiom, which it retained, after its cause no longer existed ; and which is a source of perplexity to modern readers, who do not make allowance for the genius of the language, and are shocked to find the merest human reasonings given as God's words, and the result of human free-will ascribed to the irresistible agency of the Creator. The unwritten revelation was, however, a partial dispensa-

tion only, like its successor which has recorded it. This imperfection, or partial character, of revelation is a great stumblingblock to many. They want to know, why there should not have been a fuller revelation at first. Do those who make this objection take into consideration the determinate finiteness of man's nature; the *growing* character of his mind; and especially, the necessary reaction of his mind, upon that which passes through it? A full revelation, we say, has now been received;—but only into one mind. For though Jesus Christ has freely opened himself unto all men, do we suppose that Christianity, in all the length and breadth, in which it existed in his mind, has ever been received into the mind of any one of his followers? Must not men's knowledge of truth, after all sources of it are laid open, necessarily be in proportion to their own activity, and faithfulness, and freedom from other influences? And if the revelation, that comes through a perfect mediator, is thus limited and darkened, and yet answers the purpose of improving all who in singleness of heart would receive it, (and who can doubt this?) can we not conceive that revelation, limited still more, and partly by the imperfection of its mediators, may, in a still earlier age (when men's minds, by reason of the predominance of the animal nature, were still more *in-consequent* than at present), have answered the purpose of improvement; and thus, partial though it was, have been worthy of its Author, who is the Father of individual men, as well as the Infinite, Omniscient, Eternal Mind?

The question now arises, in what form was the first written revelation to be expected? Would it not of course be first given in that form in which literature naturally develops itself in the ruder ages of the world?

The earliest form of literature, is the Historic Song. In all uncultivated countries, we find men following the instinct which prompts us to dwell on the glories of our forefathers, and singing their deeds in measure. For, it is this form of literature alone, which can be communicated to the people at large, before the art of writing is in general use.

Let us endeavour, after this preliminary remark, to imagine Moses meditating the book of the "generation of Heaven and Earth." Having entered into communion with God, on the principles of human action, (for how else are we to interpret the mysterious declaration, that he "saw God, face

to face"?) he seems to have felt himself moved by his Spirit to communicate the great truths of religion and morality to an age of the world, which, having no ancestral literature, and being peculiarly bound to the physical present, needed to be thrown back on itself, by an influence from without.

How grateful, and how sweet a reward it must have been, to the heart of this faithful friend of his countrymen, who had toiled in their cause till every selfish feeling must have been lost in the excitement of patriotism, thus to be called to give a revelation of those higher relations between man and man, to the developement of which all the outward miracles, of which he had been the instrument, were subservient !

To feel all the force of the writings of Moses, we must fill our souls with the full conception of the state of mind in which he wrote. To him was revealed the religious nature of man, as the director of his moral nature ; and that it was his own individual duty to make his superior knowledge useful to his people. Having determined to express his mind in that form of literature, which, as it seems, naturally occurs to the human mind in its early stages, his memory reverts to all the events that tradition offers to him as materials. He selects those characters and incidents, which will serve his grand purpose of displaying to man *his own nature*, and *the provisions for human virtue* ; leaving the rest untold, and speaking of nature according to the ideas of the times.

It is necessary to remember, that moral and religious truth was what the mind of Moses was intent upon ; and the history is merely the refracting atmosphere which transmits to the grosser eyes of his contemporaries the holy light of the yet unrisen sun, which was beaming fully upon the prophet's own soul. And even in profane poetry is there not something analogous to this ? Though the deeds of their ancestors have ever been inwoven in the early poetry of all countries, yet was there ever a poet, whose object was the narration of facts ? Is there not always, in the mind of the poet, a sentiment to be communicated, as his highest object ; and are not the striking delineation of character, and the collocation of incidents, inferior objects, only interesting to him as subservient to the first, — his highest object ?

The account of the creation is not philosophical. The

formation of the sun and moon and stars, and even of the firmament, is described, as if the former were made in sole reference to our little globe, and as if the latter were something else, than an illusion produced by the limitation of our power of seeing. These philosophical inaccuracies have sometimes induced a scoff at Moses, and led the thoughtless and superficial to doubt the divine authority of these records, which have been watched over by Providence so miraculously, which are referred to with such respect by Jesus and his Apostles, and which are allowed, on all hands, to contain lessons of the deepest wisdom, and poetry the most sublime, —the more remarkable, that they came from a nation, in which the gifts of human genius were not known even by name.

It has been truly said, that almost all false conclusions upon matters of speculation arise from requiring for the objects of one faculty of the soul, a sort of evidence appropriated to those of another faculty. The objections that have been made to the Mosaic account of the creation, have arisen from this narrow mode of considering subjects. There are men, who have called themselves philosophers, and who have been admitted as such by many of whom better things were to be expected, that would fain have brought down the rich, glowing, brilliant effusions of the seraph-touched souls of the Prophets to the test of a cold, logical analysis; and other men have looked on with consternation and anguish, and have almost feared, that the palladium of all that they felt to be true and good was departing from them; although they would have smiled tranquilly and contemptuously, had the poems of Homer or Milton been submitted to the same ordeal, which they might be with equal propriety.

Moses' writings convey all the truth he intended. The fact is, he did not intend to teach men natural philosophy, but religion; and his accounts address that faculty of the mind, which, in the age when he wrote, was alone developed; a faculty which need not be the less active now, because it is balanced by other faculties, which, in that early age, slumbered unknown in the depths of man's soul. It were to be desired that these faculties of ratiocination should slumber still, if they are only to be employed in sophisticating the spirit of obedience to those divine intuitions, which are prior to all intellectual operations, the essence and pledge of our immortality.

The account of the creation is full of truth, notwithstanding its philosophical inaccuracies. It conveys the important truth, that it was God's intelligent spirit, which adapted this material frame around us to the exigencies of man's temporal existence. It really does not deceive man, as to his importance in the scale of created things; for we cannot feel too deeply, that we are indeed of vastly more importance, and objects of deeper interest to our Creator, than any thing in the visible creation.

It may be asked why, in the communication of moral truth, should any inaccuracies as to matters of natural history be admitted, which, on being discovered, might lead the discoverers to doubt the inspiration of the whole. I answer, that Moses' history was intended for immediate use. Now the human mind arrives at natural knowledge by the gradual expansion of the faculties. This gradual expansion, and the correspondent acquisitions, constitute intellectual happiness. It were cheating men of their happiness, to forestall their discoveries, and pour upon their unprepared minds the full blaze of intellectual truth; and, as this is not necessary to virtue, there could be no conceivable reason for its communication by special revelation.

There is another view of the subject which penetrates it more deeply. Had the knowledge of external nature been communicated by revelation, men would not have been able to discriminate between the comparative importance of moral and intellectual truth. They would have placed them on an equal height. Now the material creation, even on a superficial view, and addressing the imagination only, interested men so much, that the spiritual principle found it a hard struggle to maintain the mastery, and did indeed sink beneath it, except in a few interesting cases. Had the natural sciences been communicated, the material creation would have been more interesting still. Is there not then deep meaning in this omission?

Was it not intended that it should be inferred as truth, that the Creator would lift the spiritual nature above the material? And was it not on this account, that Moses was led to speak of the natural world only as it appears, and reveal moral truth, as the one thing needful; — that men, having drunk deeply of the latter, might have strength and light to wield natural knowledge wisely, as an instrument of good,

when, by the gradual expansion of their faculties, it should come ?

We need not, on this account, suppose that Moses' writings are allegorical. We may believe in the actual existence of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel. We may believe, that the commandment of not yielding entirely to the pleasures of appetite was really given, and even in the form of not eating of a certain tree ; for these newborn inhabitants of earth must have been too childlike to have very complex temptations imposed on them. It is only necessary to remember, in reading these records, that, as man in his first developement thinks in pictures, so the language in which he speaks, and must be spoken to, is a language of pictures ; and that philosophical inaccuracies, though thousands of them should exist, could not invalidate writings of these early ages, whose professed object was to communicate *moral truth*, not natural science.

The true test is ; do we find great moral truths, such as the utmost stretch of the powers of uninspired and contemplative men, in long ages devoted to speculation and reasoning, did not reach ? If we do, we shall want no other evidence, that the unambitious and unassuming Moses was led by the inspiration of God to write the Pentateuch.

Having affirmed that the book of Genesis, especially in its first few chapters, is a divine chant, corresponding to the songs of the bards of other countries, which convey to posterity, without the intervention of writing, the historical deeds of their ancestors ; yet differing from those songs, in that they are calculated to kindle the flame of human ambition, while it is the design of Moses to set the moral nature on the throne, — we proceed to our enquiry.

In the first chapter of Genesis, we learn that the outward creation is formed for man, and always is to be held in subjection by him, and on no account to possess and govern him ; for that man was the last and best work of creation, alone receiving the breath of the Almighty, alone addressed by the Creator, alone laid under a moral obligation. These truths were conveyed, not with the logical precision in which they are now stated, but embodied in a narrative, brilliant, glowing, full of imagery, calculated to take hold of the imagination and be amalgamated with the soul.

A merely scholastic reasoner might perhaps think, that

the proper way to begin a revelation would be to explain the necessity of a self-existent Being ; to give all the reasons *a priori*, why there must have been an intelligent Author of creation ; and to preclude from the understanding all those indefinable doubts, which spring up in the mere intellect, when this subject is before us. But all this would be to no purpose, even in the most philosophical age of the world. Creation cannot be *understood*. It may be and is felt to be true, but all the reasonings in the world, all the forms into which sentences can be thrown will not compass it ; all endeavours to grasp subjects involving eternity, are a miniature of eternity itself ; they end where they begin. We may comprehend God, as a moral governor, after experience ; but it is not given to the creature to see into creating power.

Inspired with a wisdom that instinctively forbade him to endeavour "to find out the Almighty unto perfection," Moses commences with the simple fact, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." When our reasoning powers have been toiling through the various hypotheses of the philosophical investigators of the date and manner of creation, how refreshing and tranquillizing is this calm sublimity ! It continues through the six days' work, and the sentiment inspired is deep enough to allay the vexing spirit of idle and aimless curiosity. And when, in moments of tranquil contemplation, the beautiful changes of day and night, the glorious expanse of the firmament, the boundlessness of the grand ocean, the variegated surface of the earth springing up with expressions of an unseen spirit of goodness ; the sun, the moon, and the stars, which he also made ; the myriads of living things that enjoy "the bliss of being" ; and man, in whom is a spirit, and to whom the inspiration of the Almighty hath given understanding ; — when all these things are before us in the season of reverie, is there any thing that meets the mind, thus elevated, more satisfactory, than the chorus, as it were, of the song of Moses ; "And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good" ?

In the account of the creation of man, we also observe the absence of every thing that would gratify mere curiosity. It is the moral nature of man with which the Prophet is dealing. The first words he uses, sets the moral nature on the

throne of creation. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion," &c. "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth and *subdue it*, and have dominion over the fish of the sea," &c.

This dominion is of the soul; it is by his likeness to God, by his moral nature, that man is superior to the rest of the visible creation. A deep and lively consciousness of this nature is the only preservative of his superiority. There is doubtless a reprehensible passion for this beautiful external creation; and mere beauty, one of the stepping-stones to heaven, may lay its heavy weight on us and crush us. There is no doubt it has often done so. In very early ages the sun, the moon, the stars, and the elements, became the objects of religious worship. It might be shown by historical collations, that the basis of all Paganism is this bowing in spirit under that nature, which we were created to *have dominion over*. "Let us make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness." Here is the Creator's express declaration of the nature of the human soul. It is created in communion with the nature of God. How ennobling is this thought! at the moment of enthusiasm, of awe, of deep devotion, when we have contemplated the glories of creation, and responded to the word of the Lord, by his servant Moses, "that all is very good"; when the Author of creation is in a degree conceived in our excited souls, and the idea of *his power* is about to annihilate us with its immensity, what an awful self-reverence succeeds, as the remembrance of those memorable words recurs; "Let us make man *in our image*, after *our likeness*, and let him have dominion," &c.

It is good for us to meditate on this annunciation, for it will quicken all that is really good and great within us; it will excite all that is essentially immortal in our souls, and leave no scope for what is earthly and transitory in its nature. It will naturally suggest and deepen the communion with God, which is essential to us, and progressively so, since we present a broader surface, every successive day and hour, to the influences of merely external things, and therefore need new breathings of the Almighty, that our souls

may continue "living," and that we may preserve the elevation which is our destiny.

The second chapter of *Genesis* commences with a summary of the first. The first chapter indeed is said to bear marks of coming from a different hand than that of Moses. This may be, and Moses may have committed it to writing, only as a proper beginning to his history. It may have even been transmitted from the lips of Adam and Eve, who, in their long life, may be supposed to have sufficiently advanced to compose it as a revelation to their children.

But perhaps it will be said, When man was innocent, and had the additional advantage of not being brought to the use of his senses and mind, through years of imbecility and childhood, why should not a full revelation have been given to him, that his nature might have a full opportunity to expand? — And so there was, — a revelation peculiarly adapted to the times and quite sufficient. When man was alone and innocent, and there were no social duties, the complicated tissue of law, proposed to his descendants in their sophisticated state, would of course have been out of place. The command, to a pure moral being, to get "dominion," is the germ of all religion, the seed in which is wrapped up all that subsequent revelation may develope to the understanding of man. However much is yet to break forth from the records of our religion, adapted to the new forms of society, and new modes of action and suffering, yet to occur, still nothing can be made manifest, which an *unfallen spirit* would not of itself, without further external aid, have found in this one commandment.

Perhaps this may require some explanation. The command to "have dominion," is, in the first place, directed against man's first, sole temptation; that of indulging in the pleasures of sense too freely. There was a profusion of things to gratify the palate; had they been indulged in too freely, and without a sense of the necessity of temperance, the better part of man, his intellectual powers, would have become dull; and he would, besides, have lost the relish even for the objects of appetite themselves. On the contrary, restraining their power, for the sake of the spiritual nature connecting him with his heavenly Father, would deepen the sense of that spiritual nature and its relations, and increase his dignity of soul. By a continued habit of

restraining the power of the objects of appetite, this sense of dignity, this consciousness of his own power, or his hold upon the source of power, would have become so strong, that the objects of appetite would have ceased to become temptations.

Thus the command "to have dominion" can shield man from the sin of sensuality.

But it will be said, that there are temptations less gross, and which would become more powerful, as the baser appetites were quelled. The emotions of beauty and sublimity are keen, in proportion as man is not gross; and he would have been assailed by all the beauty of the external creation, and tempted to worship the stars, which shone so brightly and incomprehensibly, and to divide Deity into millions of persons, each attending to some one of the objects around him. Such would, indeed, be the temptation of man at the second stage of his progress; and it is more insidious than the first. But still, the command "to have dominion" would have been sufficient to keep him from yielding to this. We must remember, that, before this temptation can open upon him, his intellectual nature has advanced sufficiently for him to be able to reflect upon his relation to God, and to place a guard over himself, lest his imagination should become possessed with the beauty and sublimity of creation, till he forgot the Author of creation. He would return into himself and recognise the spirit within, and be reminded of its Author and of that Author's unity, by the reflection of it placed within his view. As my mind is over every part of my body, yet belongs to no part, so is the Almighty God over all creation, attendant on every object, yet belonging to no object. Let me resist the power of external things, and learn to feel my independence of them, and I shall be on the right hand of God, and all things be under my feet. Thus would the intellect reason. The unsophisticated heart would be equally conclusive, and the conclusions of the heart, as every one knows, are more operative on the active powers, than those of the intellect. It is the tendency of the heart to give to what has bestowed the most upon us, the credit of bestowing all other blessings. When a consciousness of one's own spirit leads up to the Author of existence, and we thank God for existence, the heart involuntarily ascribes all that makes existence val-

uable to the same source. In aid of these natural views and feelings, comes the *command* "to have dominion"; and is not this enough? The intellect converts the objects of sense and imagination into remembrances of the Creator, and the heart rises on its blessings, as stepping-stones, to nearer vicinage of heaven. Man is higher in the scale of being than before; his mind is stronger; he has notices of God from without as well as from within; and the sense of God, originally planted within, is also strengthened by his affections having been excited towards him. Thus we see that the command "to have dominion" shields man from the sin of idolatry, and makes him an intelligent worshipper.

Around this intelligent worshipper the relations of social life multiply, and there is found within him a spring of emotion deeper than the emotions of beauty and sublimity. This is sympathy, the social principle, engaging his feelings for others, whom he sees to have a common nature with himself. As his consciousness of being the object of the Almighty's care and love, gives him self-reverence, so his sense of others' bearing the same relation to the Almighty, gives him a deep feeling of respect for all partakers of human nature. As the social principle makes others necessary to his happiness, so he feels that he has power to communicate happiness. Love is spontaneous in every human being who is innocent, and who has lived so long as to feel the wants that give birth to sympathy. In the intelligent worshipper we have spoken of, who has quelled the grosser appetites, and made imagination a servant to sentiment, love will be proportionally strong and pure. And here, it will be said, are new temptations. True; but no temptations to which his improved heart and mind cannot adapt the command "to have dominion." Closely as human beings may twine themselves round his heart, he yet feels his connexion with God to be the most intimate, and his feelings towards him will be paramount to all others. As the soul can have but one centre, that centre is God. He may give up every thing to others, of outward and even of inward possession, save the inalienable prerogative of spirit to decide for itself on all matters of duty. And surely this is the wisest and kindest even for the objects of his love, holding up to them a pattern to lead them back to God, their centre, when they might otherwise fall away from him.

It might be easy to show, that pleasures of sense, of imagination, and of the affections, can only be perfect when the command "to have dominion" is obeyed. The epicure, perhaps, knows least of the pleasures of eating; the devotee to the imagination experiences most keenly, at times, "the leafless desert of the mind"; and he knows least of the bliss of the affections, who loses the principle that gives to their objects their dignity. But there is one illustration of this latter fact, which is too powerful to be omitted. It is afforded in the instance of our Saviour. So deeply was the social principle rooted in his heart, that he suffered and died for his fellow creatures, and lived for no other end than their salvation. *He was an unfallen spirit*, looking upon the social relations; and to him all men, however remote, were felt to be as brethren. Nor were his feelings less intense, than his views were expansive. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he should lay down his life for his friend." Who will pretend, that he loves a brother, child, or friend, more deeply than our Saviour loved those whom his Father gave him, or even those enemies whom he prayed for on the cross? And yet no one will pretend to deny, that the love of God was paramount in his soul.

Man did not fall, then, for the want of a sufficient revelation. The first revelation, addressed to an innocent being, though all the complicated relations of life gradually multiplied around him, might have preserved him, while his intellectual powers unfolded, and his sensibility was developed. Subsequent revelation was granted by grace to fallen man; and its power is displayed in bringing the soul back to purity, that it may start anew in that career in which Adam stumbled and fell, but which Jesus has terminated at the right hand of God. All the specific directions of revelation are intended to break the power of the objects of appetite or of imagination, to open a communion with the Father of our spirits as a spirit, and to impart strength of resolution, that we may keep all emotions, desires, affections, and thoughts subject to conscience, and commence anew the immortal career.

Meditation on the revelation given in creation is always most useful to us, and the more so the purer the mind we bring to the contemplation of it. It is the consciousness of

our nature which gives us moral power, and this alone. There is indeed a consciousness of power over creation, or a developement of decision of character, without any reference to him who gave this power, and consequently without any sense of responsibility about the exercise of it. When this developement of character, (which is *will*,) takes place, unassociated with religious emotions, it associates itself with something beneath God, and consequently beneath itself; therefore *will* is often considered as necessarily a corrupt principle. But the fact is, that the very principle of our nature, which we thus call *will*, is that principle which is capable of being God within us. In the popular language, when we say that God's will becomes the moving principle, we say our own will is subdued. It would be more philosophically accurate to say, that our own will is vindicated from the dominion of the things of time, and becomes a pure moral power.

The question may arise, how was the command, "have dominion," communicated? to the outward ear? or to the inward soul? Supposing it was in the latter method, do we not know something analogous in our present experience?

Have we not a sense of duty, before we are taught it? Is not the first recognition of the nature of our mind, as being at the same time one and the same essence, and susceptible of various states, a revelation of power? Do we not feel, that self extends on each side, as it were, of every emotion, idea, or volition, beyond our comprehension, and, consequently, do we not feel, that we have the power of choosing what particular states of mind to renew? Have we not a perpetually recurring idea of infinity, which makes us look with a sense of superiority on whatever is transitory, and which, if we should often renew it, would break up the power of finite things over us? Is not the ever-springing sense of want itself a monition to us, that our destiny is higher than we have materials to imagine? Is not all this more powerful in our consciousness, in proportion as we are innocent of evil? Can we not conceive, that to an un-fallen spirit it must have been clear as the objects of sense are to sense?

In the history of Adam we are given to suppose, that it was in his power to save himself from the dominion of the things of time altogether, the revelation of his crea-

tion being sufficient to unite him to God. We may infer, from observation and experience, that all of us have much more power, by means of this inward revelation, than we use. The moral differences in children must be ascribed to some having obeyed the original command more fully than others. In fact, this revelation, the same as given to Adam, (though not under the same advantages, we not being in a sinless world,) is given to every one of us, and more or less obeyed by every one of us, at least for a time. But we have reason to believe, that the history of Adam is the history of every one of his children, save *one*; — and oh, how great is the reward of that one! “Therefore has God highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and confess him to be Lord, to the glory of God the Father.”

Strict obedience to the inward revelation, that is, strict self-respect, would have opened a communication to the Father of spirits, would have developed the full glory of humanity, *in every one of us*. But natural religion makes no provision for human frailty. The revelation fades away from the falling. And, as the case is, the untarnished glory of human nature has never been seen but once.

There has been, however, much partial obedience to the command. There have been, in all ages of the world and among all people, individuals who have shown a degree of self-reverence. Though no persons have preserved the entire dominion, some have not been entirely subjected; and it is on account of this partial obedience, this allegiance to natural religion, that there has been any glorious development of human nature whatever, especially in the history of the heathen world. In confirmation of this, let us, without going into detail, give a glance over the records of history. Does any great man come back on your recollection, and is there not visible in his character a consciousness of power, a capability of fixing his mind on an object, and making his various talents and the circumstances of his situation contribute to it? Run over the images of all great men, in every stage of moral character, from that of Socrates to that of Pizarro, and do you not observe, that wherever is any thing glorious, any thing that takes hold even of admiration, there is the calm, deep, involuntary consciousness of power.

If partial obedience to the command given to man; with his soul, produces such glorious effects, (and this in spite of the darkness and death that necessarily follow the want of full obedience,) how glorious would be the effect of full obedience !

But we see this in Jesus Christ. His character so transcends every thing, that we in our weakness have realized of that nature which we share, that the greater part even of Christendom believe, that he was not "made like unto his brethren," that it is not literally true that "he was tempted like as we are," and that these expressions are only to be partially applied to him. Those who believe he was an independent spirit, and from choice made his will like that of his Father, it being originally equally liable with Adam's to be led astray, will have an awe-inspiring sense of the true dignity of that principle of humanity which is within them ; and even those who decide differently, may remember that every body agrees, that the character, stamped on the exterior existence of Jesus Christ, is the true pattern of humanity ; and if he had more than humanity in himself, yet of the simple human being is required all that he appeared, as to humility, disinterestedness, tenderness, devotion, wisdom, dignity, fortitude, and self-possession ; and, moreover, that it is *promised*, on the use of the same means which he employed, — communion with the Father, in earnest prayer, and with his fellow men, in unaffected sympathy.

From these views we infer, that there never was a responsible agent on earth, but that in his nature was written the command "to have dominion." And though, when we hear of evil in heathen countries, we must make all proper allowance, we should still reserve to ourselves the right to blame it ; for the sense of power is a sufficient revelation to keep men from degradation. And when we see any thing which is glorious, and which strikes us with admiration, even in the midst of vice, let us not allow ourselves to admit, that any thing glorious or admirable can exist, independent of obedience to God ; but remember, that the glory and the admirableness proceed from the remaining degree of obedience, from the individual's still retaining some hold on that principle, the full developement of which produces perfection of character. Are these speculations just ? But, as speculations, they would not have been produced in the age of

Moses. And in an age when speculation was unknown, and experience not yet accumulated, what could have anticipated the moral and intellectual discoveries of remote time, save the inspiration of Him, who "sees the end from the beginning"?

But let us proceed to the formation of woman. "And the Lord God said, It is not good that man should be alone: I will make him an help meet for him," &c. "And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man."

In this graphic manner was the divine origin of the social relations presented to the minds of the people by Moses. The narrative contains the fact, from which springs sympathy, or the social principle: this fact is the *common nature*. A consciousness of the common nature is the occasion of the developement of love. A consciousness of this common nature is the source of responsibility in social duties. "Therefore," continues Moses, "shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh." The next verse expresses the original or the possible purity of the social sentiment.

Moses could not more happily have illustrated the divinity of the sentiment of sympathy, than in this manner of stating the occasion of its first developement. It calls to mind the physical dependence of the race, as an appointment of the Creator; and gives a sacred association to the common facts of nature, which is calculated to give a perpetual sense of moral obligation concerning those relations of human beings to each other, on which the continuance of the race depends.

The more we examine this subject of social relations, and their bearing on human happiness, the more we shall perceive the necessity of a feeling of sacredness in regard to them, and the more shall we perceive the wisdom, which inspired Moses in the views which he presented concerning them. Nor do we think these views were in the slightest degree *exaggerated*, in order to produce an immediate effect. We believe, on the contrary, that the bearing of these social relations on spiritual well-being has never yet been duly appreciated,

except by Him, — *the unfallen spirit*, who laid down his life for his brethren, that they, through him, might be saved.

One of the most obvious effects of the social relations, and of the duties growing out of a consciousness of the common nature, is, that they lead the human being gently out of himself, and thus give the impulse of a growing resemblance to the Deity, in that most affecting of his attributes, *Love*, with little effort to the individual. There is much doubt, were man not bound to some few individuals of his race at first, and did he not learn to experience individual affection towards himself, and in himself towards others, whether philanthropy would ever have much tenderness or deep disinterestedness in it. The domestic circle is the sphere, where we learn to control those little movements of self-love which, in a wider circle, would not be sufficiently observed to produce a sensible jar, leading to amendment; and long continued attention to some one, or a few individuals, discloses to the mind a thousand fine perceptions of the happiness we are capable of conferring on each other and of receiving from each other, which would be lost in the hurry and confusion of mind, produced by an attempt to consider equally *every one* with whose existence we become acquainted.

The social circle is the school of the affections, and accordingly as we have appreciated and experienced all its fine influences will generally be the reality and tenderness of our philanthropy, or, to use a more expressive and sacredly associated word, — our charity.

It is in the social circle, where human beings are brought into closest contact with each other, that the depth and nature of the affections are learned. Where else but in a limited circle, could be developed the enduring patience of love, — its effects in softening and opening the heart of frozen humanity; where else could be found the uncalculating spirit of a mother's devotion, that revelation of the disinterestedness of which man is capable? The relations of life are transitory, but these affections are not so. These affections are qualities of the spirit which cannot die; and the present relations of life are only the occasions by which to the individual man is given a glimpse of the extent and intensity of that social action, which he is probably to realize in the "communion of the just made perfect."

The more man has learned of his nature, the more he

has felt that there is no solitary enjoyment. And, if the removal of all internal impediments to a free communion of souls be the condition of that happiness for which we are destined, how admirable is the discipline of the social relations to advance our destiny ! In them we learn to be confiding and sympathetic, to be deferential to our equals, considerate to our inferiors, and ever open to influence from those who are above us in natural gifts or acquired wisdom ; while the holy light of love is springing up, spontaneously, from the constantly recurring sense of a common nature, to soften and illuminate all social difficulties. The influence of the relation of a child to its parents, in illustrating and defining the relation of the soul to its Author, has not perhaps ever been sufficiently estimated. If a parent does his duty, and brings the child to appreciate his love and submit to reproof and influence, from the spirit of confidence and from sensibility to the nature of parental love, there can be no method conceived better calculated to prepare the soul for the highest light which the spirit of God may pour upon it, whether from outward or inward revelation. In short, may not the social relations be considered a miniature of the spiritual universe, and the reception of all their influences the best means of understanding and becoming associated with the Father of the universe ?

Another important effect of the doctrine of the common nature, as stated by Moses, is the moral equality of man and woman. This was a great truth to be so calmly and simply stated in that early age, when even in this it is hardly admitted. He *states* the important truth, when he says, "male and female God created *man*," — and when he shows that Eve also was commanded not to eat of the fruit. It is a late day to speak of the importance of this doctrine to the welfare of society. Degraded Asia, and civilized Europe, and the uncultivated regions of savage lands preach it, in every grade of their conditions, with proportional force of eloquence.

Christians have sometimes been led into error, by not understanding their Master respecting the social relations. What those were, in his view, must be derived from what we know of his character and conduct.

We learn, in the first place, that even after he was conscious of "his Father's business," he was "subject unto

his parents"; in the second place, that he had a *particular friend*; and an affecting proof, that these affections were ever cherished in his heart, was given on the cross in the memorable words, — "Son, behold thy mother; woman, behold thy son." What confidence is here expressed in the friend! what tenderness towards the mother!

Even these instances are sufficient, when we consider, that it was not the history of Jesus Christ, in those relations which he shared with his brethren, that is given in the Gospels, but his history in regard to the work of Redemption alone. Moreover, it is to be remembered, that the social relations might have been all to him that they are to us, and yet the more common ones have been thrown into the shade, as it were, by the peculiar relation in which his peculiar character placed him to the race. The time may come when we shall perceive ourselves to hold an immediate relation to the race as such; and we shall not have less sensibility to this extensive relation, because we have been faithful to the less extended ones. We have no history of the unfolding of the unmeasured mind of Jesus, or we might discover, perhaps, that even *he* proved himself faithful over a few things, before he was consciously placed over many.

But all this is negative proof, perhaps, of his regard for the social relations. Let us then investigate his words. In regard to the relation of marriage, he is very distinct. In this he improved upon the Jewish law, distinctly stating, that Moses had accommodated it, in his specific directions, to the hardness of their hearts; and it is the whole effect of his religion to produce a purity of heart and refinement of mind, which is immediately felt in this important relation. If he does not dwell on any other social relation, we should remember, that he came to reveal the wider, and not the more limited ones; he came, in short, to speak of those, to which those that Providence had previously revealed were subservient; and, that unless he expressly contends against them, his speaking of them as not the whole destiny of man, does not degrade them or annihilate them. It leaves them all the importance for which we contend, — an importance derived from their subserviency to higher relations, of which we have hardly learned, even from his luminous example, to be conscious. Moreover, all that Jesus says, in regard to the inferiority of the social relations, does not re-

gard their nature, but their *abuse by the Jews*, whose exclusive spirit had, like an atrophy, turned the very blessings of their condition into poison. The whole Christian religion is felt as eminently calculated to produce the character, which makes the social relations a blessing unknown before. But a hint is all we can give on this subject. A few remarks on the moral influence of the social relations could not be omitted in this place, because it cannot be forgotten, that those, who have attacked the wisdom of Moses and denied his inspiration, at the same time have been for annihilating the social relations, or taking away their sacredness, on the pretence of producing a purer and deeper philanthropy. The immediate consequence of these attempts, wherever they have been made, has been a powerful commentary on their wisdom and on the wisdom of the ancient lawgiver. The theory has been exploded, and we may believe that it will hardly again be extensively maintained, though here and there a superficial thinker may adopt it for a season.

A few remarks more and we have done. In the account of the creation, we find it divided into six periods. This might have no meaning at all, except to give liveliness to the poetry ; but it is a remarkable fact, that Geologists have found in their discoveries, that the earth bears marks of a progression of creation, corresponding to the six ages* of Moses. The coincidence may be accidental. It would be difficult to believe that Moses was a Geologist.

At every step of the material creation, God pronounced his work *good* and *finished*. The material creation was positively brought to perfection, or had no voice in its own destiny.

But in the creation of man no such word was pronounced. When the spirit was breathed into the clay, a command was given, and he was blessed, but not pronounced *good*. Perhaps there is a meaning in this omission. Perhaps it means, that man was not finished when he was sent into existence. And it may be, that, by following up this idea, we may be led into views, throwing light on that question in metaphysics, — the cause of the existence and the permission of moral evil, and how it may harmonize with the known character of God.

* *Day*, in the Hebrew tongue, often meant a long period of time.

There was a time when the existence of *natural* evil was a great difficulty in metaphysics; and it was thought hard to reconcile it with the benevolence of God. That time has past. The argument of Dr. Paley seems to have set the questions on this subject at rest. He has demonstrated, that natural evil is never the object of creation, or of divine contrivance, but the *defect* of contrivance; and has suggested, that this defect of contrivance in the material world was designed, and is explained by its bearings on the moral world, where the evil is found more than balanced in the production of good, eternal as the soul.

But is moral evil an object of creation? This cannot be decided in the affirmative, unless we are sure that a responsible being may become utterly and entirely depraved, i. e. unless we take into view the whole being, and are sure, that we have distinct revelation as to the duration of moral evil, not only beyond death, but throughout eternity. That a moral being is at any time imperfect, is no proof of the existence of moral evil, as a design of the Creator. The only proof that moral evil is a design of the Creator, would be, that the *ultimate state of the individual* was evil. Even if moral evil is coëxtensive with the race (supposing the race will everlastingly receive new individuals into it), yet, if it is not coëxtensive with any *individual*, it cannot be considered as an object of creation, but may be considered as an intended defect of contrivance, and having important bearings on that "communion of the just," from which none are ultimately to be excluded.

All may not accede to this view of the matter. But perhaps it will be found impossible to deny it absolutely, as we have not any undisputed, direct information, by revelation, upon the subject; and the deducting faculty, as well as feeling, decides against the eternity of moral evil, from the nature of God, who, by this, would certainly be proved to have made an infinite existence which is displeasing to himself; for he is said to "abhor evil."

Suppose the above theory of the limited nature of moral evil, as respects each individual, to be granted; the question would still arise, Can we fathom the divine reasons for this defect of contrivance? Can we ascribe it to love? and how?

We answer, it *may* be ascribed to the unfathomed riches of God's love, who would impart to us a happiness, the

nature of which is ineffable, so that at the first glance it would seem impossible to be given to *creatures*; the happiness of having a share in the formation of our own souls.

Man is created imperfect, that he may have a share in building the edifice of his own happiness. God has left him *unfinished*, that he may partake more fully of the incomprehensible divine nature, of which self-existence is an attribute, and that he may make and see himself *good*.

The analogy of nature is in one point of view in favor of this. Every thing in material nature, though it comes to perfection in this world, comes to perfection gradually; and there is beauty in growth, though it implies necessarily inferior stages. In the moral world *happiness* is what *beauty* is in the material world. And happiness consists in intellectual and moral growth. Now this happiness of growth is a good, though it implies lower stages of excellence as a condition. What should we be without it?

Our errors, in speculating upon this subject, have arisen, perhaps, from our narrow views of man. We have discoursed of his nature in the early stages of its developement, and drawn inferences of the designs and character of his Creator; when, if we would do the Creator justice, we should regard man as his creature, and illustrating his benevolent designs, only in the higher stages of his character. It is in Jesus Christ that we must look for human nature as it appears to the Divine Mind; — as it is in the full-grown tree, and not in the acorn, — in the fruit-bearing vine, and not the leafless stick, that we must look for his designs in the material creation, and draw inferences as to his character.

The defect, then, in contrivance, which makes a limited moral evil possible (and whatever is limited, is, to the Divine Mind, who holds "a thousand years as one day and one day as a thousand years," nothing), is counterbalanced by that sense of free will, which is the element of human happiness, which brings us most especially to partake of the Divine Nature. The material world, by its defects, leads into moral happiness; the moral, by its defects, leads into Divine happiness; and the Divine Nature is without defect, all-sufficient in itself, transcending our conceptions.

Sometimes shortsighted man has murmured, that he was created imperfect, that is, that a share has been granted him in the formation of his own character and happiness!

And again, the evident folly of questioning the goodness of God, has driven some into the absurdity of viewing an eternity of moral evil as a good ("one of the glories of God"!) and one sect of Christians makes a willingness to be damned an essential element of the Christian character; and if damnation were an eternal thing, this would be reasonable enough, since whatever is eternal must be pleasing to an all-happy Deity, and consequently should be acquiesced in, by those whose happiness is to be found in communion with him.

Both these absurdities may be avoided by viewing moral evil as limited with respect to every individual; and this may be done, even though we carry moral evil beyond time and death, as reason and revelation both compel us to do. Even supposing it possible, that free agency should be abused to the last degree, moral evil would still be limited by the cessation of existence itself; for no individual can be supposed to exist in creation, in whom is no element of the Creator, or in other words, no good whatever; (and this, by the way, strikes at the root of the whole science of demonology, and the whole world of intelligent evil spirits).

But if moral evil is overruled for good, and is limited, therefore, as to the Divine Mind; still it is something very great, relatively to the human mind on earth; and what is it, and how does it enter into the character?

We have said that Moses does not say man was perfected at his creation. Let us inquire, however, what *was* done for man at his birth; or what is necessary to moral existence? Conscience and power were given him, with the desire, and a progressive capacity, to receive into himself a knowledge of the world without. Conscience means the feeling of the distinction between right and wrong. Power means the choosing faculty or will. These are necessary to moral existence, and in looking back (for this question is only to be settled by self-recollection), do we, or do we not, remember the time, when we were not conscious of these? We were responsible, — we were susceptible of moral evil, only so far back, as we do remember them. And is not our remembrance coëxtensive with memory and the recognition of personal identity?

On the recognition of personal identity, as on a rock, rests indeed our power of choosing. This incomprehensible but

most intimate feeling of our nature, is a sense of *inalienable, absolute being*; and, relatively to this feeling, all temporary states of mind, no less than matter and circumstance, seem to be external, — a rush of winds and waves, which are only dashed against it and broken. The strength of will is in proportion to the habit of silence and reflection, which gives opportunity for the winds and waves to subside, and then the rock rises sublime and evident in the face of heaven, on which it does not fear to look.

But the subsiding of the winds and waves, whence may it come? A fountain wells up in the bosom of the rock itself, a fountain whose flood is oil; — this is a feeling of alliance to the Eternal Excellence, involving a love, as diverse from every other emotion of the heart, as is the idea of personal identity from every notion of the mind; — and this oil when poured on the waters produces a calm. Revelation calls this, in its own poetical dialect, the influence of the Holy Spirit, in answer to prayer.

But we must remember the material creation, or circumstance, has two aspects; it is one thing to the human mind *active*, and quite another thing to the human mind *passive*. To the human mind *active*, it is the stepping-stone to heaven; to the human mind *passive*, it is a weight which may crush. The progress of knowledge is a continued temptation, for a little light shows things in a false coloring. And often we must act even on confined views, and learn that they are confined by the consequences of our actions. Thus a limited moral evil will arise; but it is limited by sensibility and conscience, if not in the days of probation, surely in those of retribution. The moral evil, in this limited degree, it is true, exists necessarily; but its existence may become to the human mind a means of future elevation; for the experience of the evil of departing from the right line will give new light to conscience, and new energy to the purified will. At any rate, if the possibility of this limited moral evil is necessary to free agency, there is no one but will feel, that the infinity of the blessing reduces the risk of the evil, to a nonentity, in the eye of immortality; consequently, Ignorance, which is alike the source of free will and of sin (for should we not be bound by a necessity as strong as the will of the Omnipotent, if we could see and realize all consequences?) when looked upon in its remotest bearings, is

as much a proof of the wisdom and love of God as any thing else in the creation. But could not Omnipotence have given free will without setting us out in life ignorant, or with only one guide instead of two? — In reply it may be asked, could Omnipotence create a valley without at the same time creating hills?

But sin, though finite in its nature and consequences, is still too great an evil to be provoked: its consequences too, limited though they be in the eye of the Divine Being, are doubtless, when considered relative to the present powers of human conception, *unlimited*; and even if Revelation did not run over heaven and earth for images to express its fearfulness, we might reason from the progressive acuteness of a violated conscience, as we become more and more elevated in the scale of excellence, that it is only necessary to conceive the relations of eternity to be consciously developed, in order to understand that what constitutes the trial of probation in time, will become the pangs of retribution in eternity. The hint of this theory was derived from the name given by Moses to the forbidden fruit.

ART. IV. — *Review of a recent Portraiture of the Saviour's sufferings.*

THE sufferings of the Messiah furnish a subject of deep interest to the Christian world. To obtain correct views of the occasion, the nature, and the object of these sufferings should be the aim of every minister of the gospel. If we reflect on the temper manifested by the sufferer, we may find evidence, that this is a subject in the discussion of which, we should put away all bitterness, clamor, evil speaking, and censorious judging, and be clothed with meekness and humility.

"The Christian Spectator," for June, 1833, contains an article on this important question; — "How can the sinner be made to feel his guilt?" The article was written by the Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, "at the request of the Revival Association, Andover." Of the various means to be employed to make the sinner feel his guilt, an exhibition

of the sufferings of Christ is supposed by the writer of the article to be of the highest importance, and the most efficacious. The following extracts are from his "Portraiture," or the view he has given of the subject.

"The gospel in the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ has exhausted all the appeals which can be made to men's sensibilities, to make them feel their guilt. It comes in at the end of the law, and when all other topics of persuasion have been found to be ineffectual.—It became needful that some other should be tried to see whether men could be made so effectually to feel their guilt and ill desert, as to hate it and abandon it. That plan was what was expressed in the cross of Christ. The essence of that plan consists in a man's being made to see an innocent being suffering unutterable agonies in his stead, and as the proper expression of his crime.

"Now the value of that plan may be seen by supposing that human law had some such device. One thing strikes every man in going into a court of justice. It is that the criminal, who knows his guilt, and who may expect to die, is so unmoved by the scene and the danger; and especially that he seems to have so little sense of the evil of the crime for which he is to die. — But suppose there could be placed in full view, where the man alone could see it, some *innocent being* voluntarily suffering what his crime deserved,—*illustrating* on the rack or in the flames, just what he ought to suffer, and bearing this so patiently, so mildly, as he sank into the arms of death, as to be the highest expression of pure friendship. Suppose this was the brother or the father of the man he had slain, and that the dying man should tell him that he bore this to show the importance of maintaining violated law, and that *but* for these sufferings the guilty wretch could not be saved from death,—and how much more affecting would be this than the mere dryness of statutes, and the pleadings of counsel, and the charge of the judge. You may find here perhaps a slight illustration of the principle on which the gospel acts. Law had tried its power in vain, and the only effectual scheme is to place before the sinner the innocent Lamb of God, bleeding for his sins. Hence the Apostles met with such success, whose preaching was little more than a simple statement of the truth, that Jesus died and rose. And however it is to be accounted for, it is this which has, in all ages, been attended with convictions of guilt among men. Nor do I doubt that *this* is the way in which men must be taught to feel their guilt, as the gospel spreads over the world. If you wish to make men feel

the evil of sin, go and tell them, that its magnitude is so great that none but God's own Son could undertake the task of bearing the burden of the world's atonement. Go and remember that angelic might was not equal to this; that all on high but God, was incapable to breast the tide of human sins, — that so great were the plans of gigantic and all-spreading evil, that it was needful that God should become incarnate, and in our nature meet the evils of sin, aimed at his head and his heart. Go, and look on embodied holiness, the august blending of all virtues in the person of the Son of God, moving a present deity, through the scenes of earth, and himself the only innocent being that had blessed our world with his presence. Then go and see innocence itself in torture, and ask, Why was this? Is this the fair expression of the desert of our sin? Did God judge aright when he deemed that woes like these should tell *how much* men ought to endure?" — *Christian Spectator*, for June, 1833. — pp. 189, — 191.

We have no occasion to question either the ability or the sincerity of Mr. Barnes. These may be admitted; still we may question the correctness of some of his views. In speaking of the opinions of others he has said, — "Dark dogmas, however pompous, statuary, and solemn, will not supply the place of light. Men will think and reason and draw their own conclusions; and this must be fully understood by the ministry," (p. 181.) To aid in this work of thinking and reasoning will be the object of this review. An answer to the last question but one in the foregoing extracts may embrace nearly all we have to say at the present time. The question is the following: —

"Is this the fair expression of the desert of our sin?"

The question relates to the sufferings of the cross as the writer had described them. To his question we conscientiously answer, *NO*. Some reasons for this answer will now be given.

1. We object to the "Portraiture," because it exhibits Jehovah as the "innocent Being" who suffered on the cross. It is true that the writer uses the phrases "the Son of God" and "God's own Son"; but he is careful to inform us that he uses the word *Son* in a sense not known in any other case; and that by the "Son of God" he means God himself; "that all on high but God, was incapable." The Scriptures, however, teach us that the sufferer was a being who

had a God who was his Father. He could exclaim, "My God, my God," and "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." But God, the true God, has neither God nor Father. Besides we may appeal to Mr. Barnes's own conscience and ask, Do you honestly believe that the sufferings of the cross were really endured by the living God? If not can your "Portraiture" be a "*fair* expression of the desert of our sin," or of the truth in regard to a matter of fact? It is to us hardly credible that a man of Mr. Barnes's understanding can really believe that his Maker was both the sufferer on the cross, and the being who inflicted the supposed vicarious punishment; and if he cannot believe all this, we are at a loss how he can regard his own language as a "*fair expression*" of his own views.

2. We cannot regard Mr. Barnes's "Portraiture" as a "*fair expression*" of what the scriptures teach of the nature of the sufferings endured on the cross. His reasoning represents them as *penal* sufferings inflicted by God, and as a substitute for the punishment due to our sins. But Christ foretold his own sufferings as the effects of persecution. When the time of his crucifixion drew near, — "from that time forth began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and *suffer many things* from the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed; and be raised again the third day." Matt. xvi. 21. On other occasions he gave similar ideas as to the nature of the sufferings which he should endure. When speaking of the death of John the Baptist, he said, "Likewise shall the Son of Man suffer of them;" — and, in the parable of the vineyard, he represented that he should suffer as the former prophets had done, who were persecuted even unto death. At another time he compared his death to that of a good shepherd who lays down his life in efforts to save his sheep from being destroyed by wolves. In no instance did he intimate that God would inflict on him the punishment due to sinners.

It is indeed true in the sense that all things are ascribed to God, that he is represented as "not sparing his own Son, but delivering him up for us all." So Peter said to the Jews, "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and *by wicked hands crucified and slain*." Acts, ii. 23. It may also be observed, that in

the sense in which it "behooved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name," — and in the sense that "he suffered for us, leaving an example that we should follow his steps," — it may in truth be said that his death was desirable and necessary. But this is a very different thing from God's inflicting on him a vicarious punishment.

3. The circumstances under which Christ suffered, forbid us to regard his sufferings as a "fair expression of the desert of our sins," — or as designed "to tell *how much* we ought to endure." If we may judge from the facts stated by the Evangelists, Christ actually suffered the pains of crucifixion by "wicked hands"; and we have no evidence that a single spectator had the least suspicion that he was at the same time suffering from the hand of God the punishment due to the sins of the world. God had given no previous information that such would be the fact. How then could his sufferings be "a fair expression of the desert of our sin"? Had God been disposed to inflict vicarious punishment on his Son, we cannot believe that he would have concealed his own operations under a torrent of Jewish malignity.

4. The preaching of the Apostles after the resurrection affords ample proof, that they had not understood that Christ suffered for them and for others a vicarious punishment, or to "tell *how much* we ought to endure." It was but about forty days from the resurrection to the day of Pentecost, when the Apostles were miraculously illuminated by a baptism of the Holy Spirit. The death and resurrection of their Lord were the topics of their sermons; and had they then understood that he had suffered the punishment due to themselves, to his murderers, and to the world, they could not have refrained from declaring the fact in the most definite and ample manner. It must have been news to themselves, and to all the people; and news of so extraordinary a character must have been proclaimed. Yet throughout all their preaching, so far as we have it recorded, they never even alluded to such an idea. Mr. Barnes, however, seems to have wholly overlooked this fact, and has ascribed the "success" of the Apostles to their preaching this doctrine, when in fact they never mentioned any such doctrine in any sermon which has come down to us. It is indeed true

that they spoke abundantly of the death and resurrection of Christ, but for what purpose? Not to proclaim that he had suffered the punishment due to sinners, but to prove that he was the promised Messiah, by showing that his death and resurrection had been foretold; and to convince the Jews that they had crucified the Lord of glory. Is it not amazing that a minister of the gospel at this day should have been so inattentive to recorded facts, as to represent the "success" of the Apostles as resulting from their preaching a doctrine which is not named in any one of their discourses?

5. The sufferings of the cross do not appear to us a "fair expression of the desert of our sin," because Christ was not a sinner. If under any form of government we should see a malefactor suffer the due reward of his deeds, this would be a "fair expression" of his desert, and of the desert of others equally guilty. But if instead of the guilty agent we should see an innocent person suffer as a substitute, we should see, not the desert of the malefactor, but glaring injustice. We should not be able to discern the least congruity between the crime and the suffering. Suffering, to be a "fair expression" of crime, must be the fruit of the sufferer's own way, the reward of his own deeds. To punish the innocent is what no just law ever required, and is repugnant to a leading principle of every equitable statute. The threatening of punishment to the transgressor, implies a promise of exemption to the obedient or innocent.

Here it may be proper to notice the "device" so high in the esteem of Mr. Barnes;—that is, the introduction of vicarious punishment under human government. He states a case for example. A murderer is brought before a court of justice; all are struck with his apparent insensibility and unconcern. "But suppose there could be placed in full view, where the man alone could see it, some *innocent being* voluntarily suffering what *his* crimes deserved, *illustrating*, on the rack or in the flames, just what he ought to suffer, and bearing it so patiently, so mildly, as he sank into the arms of death, as to be the highest expression of pure friendship. Suppose this was the brother or the father of the man he had slain, and that the dying man should tell him that he bore this to show the importance of maintaining violated law, and that *but* for these sufferings the

guilty wretch could not be saved from death." Here we may remark ;

A felon of humane feelings would doubtless be greatly moved to see a fellow being "on the rack or amidst flames," whether innocent or guilty. But suppose the murderer to be a man of intelligence and reflection; what must be his views of the wisdom of those who devised the plan of maintaining "violated law," by punishing the obedient instead of the guilty? Even in his serious situation would he not be tempted to smile at such a project? If he can make himself believe, that the supreme magistrate and the sufferer have agreed to save him by such a vicarious punishment, he may indeed be much affected with their intended kindness, and it is possible that by reflecting on this he may be led to see the evil of his own ways, and become a reformed man. This, however is very uncertain. Perceiving that he is in a way to escape punishment, by the supposed kindness of the substitute, may remove fear from his mind, and with it all sense of guilt and danger. But, whatever may be the effect on his mind, of beholding his substitute in torture, if he can see either wisdom or moral justice in the plan adopted, he must possess some power of discernment which is denied to us.

It may probably be said that, according to Mr. Barnes's statement, the substitute suffers voluntarily, and this by many will be thought to render it just on the part of government to inflict on him the penalty due to another. The consent of the sufferer is all that is supposed to be necessary; and, on the ground of the supposed consent of Christ to bear our punishment, vicarious punishment has been vindicated. It is readily admitted by the advocates for vicarious punishment, that it could not be just without the consent of the victim. But if this kind of punishment is in its nature unjust, can its nature be changed by the bare consent of the sufferer? Caiaphas proposed to put Jesus to death on this principle, — "that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not." John xi. 50. Suppose that Jesus had consented to be killed on that principle or pretext; would this consent have rendered it just in the Sanhedrim to cause his death? Surely not.

After Jesus had foretold what he should suffer from the

elders, the chief priests, and the scribes, he fervently prayed to the Father, that if possible this cup might pass from him; but added, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt." By the last clause he consented to suffer according to his prediction, if the Father should not see fit, in some way, to interpose and effect his escape. Let it now be supposed that Caiaphas was informed of this fact, and of the import of the words, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt," would he have been the less guilty in seeking his destruction? The answer must be in the negative. It is therefore evident, that the consent of an agent cannot render a punishment *just*, which is in its *nature unjust*.

But while we deny that the consent of a victim can make vicarious punishment just, we believe that the consent of a victim is not necessary to render it just in God to require such services of a good being as will expose that being to great sufferings in the discharge of his duty. If the public good requires those services, God may justly require them without asking the consent of the destined agent. The consent of the agent may be necessary to evince his humility, benevolence, and obedient disposition; but not necessary to render the conduct of God perfectly just. The services, which Christ required of his Apostles when he commanded them to go forth in his name and preach repentance and remission of sins, were services which exposed them to great sufferings, and even unto death. Of this he forewarned them, and let them know that they would have to drink of his cup, and be baptized with a baptism such as he should undergo. "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you," was the language he used in speaking to them the evening before his crucifixion. On the same benevolent principle he exposed his own life in obedience to the Father, and required services of his Apostles, by which they would also be exposed to sufferings and even unto death. But vicarious punishment was not the object or the nature of these sufferings in either case. He "humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross"; and he required of his Apostles the same self-denying and obedient temper. But for these services God was disposed to reward both the Messiah and his Apostles.

6. The sufferings of Christ do not appear to us "a fair

expression of the desert of our sin," because the course of Providence since the crucifixion appears to us a contradiction to the hypothesis, that he suffered "the punishment due to us all." If God regarded the sufferings of Christ as a substitute for the penalty due to our offences, why have men been exposed to punishment since the Saviour suffered in their stead? They have certainly been threatened, and millions of them have suffered punishment, since that time as well as before. Prior to the crucifixion God was disposed to forgive the penitent, and it has been so from that day to this. Faith and reformation are now "counted for righteousness," and it was so in the time of Abraham. It is very certain, that the terms of pardon and acceptance have not been lowered since the Saviour suffered on the cross. If there has been any essential change in consequence of the sufferings of Christ, as to the conditions of acceptance with God, more is now required than was required under the former dispensation. As more light and more advantages are now given, more obedience is required. It hence appears, that the sufferings of Christ were neither designed to cancel any debt which men owed to God, nor to diminish their obligations to obey him. His sufferings were neither a substitute for punishment, nor a substitute for reformation and holy obedience.

7. There are other objections to speaking of the sufferings of Christ as "a fair expression of the desert of our sins," which seem not to have occurred to Mr. Barnes. "*Even the death of the cross*" is the strongest language used in the Bible to express the sufferings of Christ; the pains of crucifixion were all that were obvious to the spectators of that awful scene, — and these sufferings appear to have been about six hours in duration. Will Mr. Barnes then admit that "the death of the cross" is the penalty of the divine law, or equivalent to the desert of our sins; and that six hours suffering is all to which the greatest sinner is exposed? If not, why does he teach that the sufferings of Christ are "a fair expression of the desert of our sin," and that "woes like these tell *how much* we ought to endure?"

By ascribing infinite dignity to the Messiah, and by estimating the evil of his sufferings, not according to their amount, but according to the supposed dignity of the suf-

ferer, Mr. Barnes may imagine greater sufferings than those which produced "the death of the cross." But what is all this but imagination? Does the Bible mention any such mode of estimating the sufferings of the Messiah? If not, let us confine ourselves to the language of Scripture in making our estimates.

We should also take into view, that the advocates for the doctrine in question, not only ascribe infinite dignity to the sufferer, and infer that a less amount of real suffering was necessary on account of his infinite dignity; but on this ground they suppose that his sufferings were equivalent to the endless misery of all mankind. Let us then observe how impossible it is, that in the sufferings of Christ we should have "a fair expression of the desert of our sins," or even an expression of which we can form any definite conception. On the hypothesis that a less amount of sufferings was necessary on account of the dignity of the sufferer, a ten thousandth part of what he endured in a second of the common sufferings of crucifixion might be estimated as equivalent to the everlasting misery of all our race. Then when we consider him as suffering a vicarious punishment, not for an individual only, but for the millions of millions of mankind, how can any individual see in that unknown, infinite, undefinable, and inconceivable mass of suffering "a fair expression of the desert of his sins"? As truly might we say that the immensity of space is "a fair expression" of the size and figure of a man.

8. We cannot admit, that in the sufferings of Christ we have "a fair expression of the desert of our sins," because we believe that the doctrine of substituted punishment involves the hypothesis that with God there is no forgiveness or pardoning mercy. A doctrine which involves this idea may justly be regarded with horror; and we have no doubt that it will be denied that such is the fact in regard to the doctrine of a vicarious punishment. We shall therefore state the grounds of our belief.

Forgiveness relates either to some pecuniary *debt*, or to some *penalty* for a moral offence. In each of these senses the word is used in the Scriptures. If a benevolent creditor has cancelled a debt due to him, because the debtor was poor and unable to pay, we should be likely to say, he forgave him the whole debt. But if a surety or friend had paid

the poor man's debt, we should not call it forgiveness in the creditor, to give up the bond on receiving his pay. There is nothing of forgiveness in this case, any more than there would have been had the poor man paid the debt himself. Forgiveness of a moral offence implies a remission of the penalty threatened by the law. When the penalty is inflicted, it is not forgiven; and when it is forgiven, it is not inflicted. As forgiveness implies a remission of the penalty, so punishment excludes the idea of forgiveness. The same offence, is not both punished and forgiven. If then there was occasion for vicarious punishment, it must have occurred on this ground, — the want of forgiveness with God for the penitent. We do not perhaps hear people use this language in speaking on the subject; yet we may find that their reasoning implies all that we assert. How often have we heard and seen the supposed vicarious punishment accounted for and vindicated in the following manner: —

“Under the perfect government of God, his honor and the honor of his law required, that the penalty of the law for every offence should be fully inflicted; and, as endless punishment is the penalty for every transgression, no sinner could ever have been saved, however penitent, had not the wisdom of God devised the plan of substituted punishment, — that of inflicting on his Son, a person of infinite dignity, the penalty due for our offences, or such sufferings as were equivalent to that penalty.”

It may now be asked, what possible occasion could there be for such a plan of vicarious punishment, if there was with God forgiveness for the penitent? None certainly. Besides, the very supposition that *the penalty of the law must in all cases be inflicted*, either on the sinner or an innocent substitute, implies that there is not in truth any forgiveness under the divine government. For surely a penalty inflicted is not a penalty forgiven. It is true that the penitent sinner is not supposed to suffer personally the penalty due to his offences. But why? Not because he has become a new creature, or a reformed man; but because *his substitute has suffered in his stead*, and thus paid the very last mite. What then was left to be forgiven? Nothing. Every one will admit, that there would have been no forgiveness on the part of God, had the sinner suffered the penalty himself. Why then is it not the same, as to forgiveness, if the penalty

has been suffered by a substitute? It certainly is the same, if it is a fact, that the sufferings of Christ are the only ground on which the sinner is saved from future punishment.

We know very well that the advocates for substituted punishment talk of the forgiving love of God, or his readiness to pardon all who repent; and they doubtless believe, that, in some sense of the terms, there is forgiveness with God. Still they teach, that God forgives only on the ground that the deserved punishment has been inflicted on the Messiah. But who, in any other case, ever heard or imagined, that *punishment* might be a proper ground of *pardon*?

We grant that forgiveness, as exercised by neighbours or brethren one towards another, implies things different from the remission of a debt or a penalty, — such as approbation and joy on seeing an offender evince a humble and penitent mind, restoring him to favor and good standing, and various expressions of sympathy and kindness. But when we speak of forgiveness, as exercised by a ruler towards one who had by transgression exposed himself to the penalty of the law, forgiveness implies a remission of that penalty; and such other favors as may be properly shown to the person forgiven. But after a penalty has been inflicted, it can with no propriety be said to have been forgiven.

We have expressed the belief, that the doctrine of vicarious punishment is built on a false hypothesis. It is not a revealed principle of the divine government, that the honor of the law and the lawgiver requires that every transgression shall be punished, whether the sinner repent or not. But God has clearly revealed the following facts: —

That he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked; that he is longsuffering, not willing that any should perish; that his threatenings are so conditional, that if those who are threatened turn from their iniquities, and do that which is right, they shall live, and not die. He requires us to pray to him, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us," assuring us that if we forgive, we shall be forgiven. He has abundantly made repentance the condition of forgiveness, and required us to imitate this example. Thus said his Son, "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him." All these facts and many more go to prove, that God does not act on the principle that his honor requires that all his

threatenings shall be executed on the transgressor or his substitute, but that with him is forgiveness for all who repent. They also go to prove, that men have been under a great mistake in supposing that God's veracity requires him in all cases to execute his threatenings, however penitent men may be for their offences. Indeed vicarious punishment is itself a far more gross departure from the spirit of the divine threatening, than forgiveness on condition of repentance. The design of the divine threatening is to show us what we shall deserve, if we sin; and what we must suffer, if we sin, and do not repent. The same revelation which makes known the law and its penalty teaches us, that, if we repent of our sins, the penalty is not to be inflicted. But neither the law, nor any revelation accompanying it, makes any provision for vicarious punishment. We nowhere read, that if a man sin, his punishment may be inflicted on a substitute, and that this shall answer the demands of the law. But we do read, that if a wicked man turn from his iniquities and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die; and we are also informed, that "faith," which worketh by love, "is counted for righteousness."

But how often has it been said, that in the sufferings of Christ we behold God's inflexible justice, his regard to his holy law, and his determination that no sin shall pass unpunished. How astonishing that intelligent men could ever reason in such a manner! If it be true, that the punishment due to our offences was inflicted on the Son of God as our substitute, and that men are saved only on this ground, it is equally true, that sin does pass unpunished, and that innocence and righteousness have been punished in its stead. For if Christ has suffered as a substitute for sinners, innocence and righteousness were made a substitute for sin, and as such punished in the person of the Messiah! But this thought demands a more distinct consideration, to which we shall now proceed.

9. We object to the opinion, that the sins of men were punished in the sufferings of Christ, because we believe that the hypothesis implies impossibilities, both natural and moral. In our opinion it is impossible that sin should be punished if the sinner escapes, or that it should be punished in any way but by the sufferings of the sinning agent. But, as the people of our country have been educated in the belief that

their sins were punished in the sufferings of the Messiah, many will be astonished that we should suppose this to be impossible. We may therefore give some attention to this view of the subject.

We may here call the attention of people to a fact which some of them may recollect. There was a time when the learned men of New England were astonished and amused by an exposition which was published of Matthew xxv. 32, 33, in which "the sheep" and "the goats," mentioned in those verses, were explained to mean *men* and their *sins*; the sheep or men placed on the right hand of the Judge, and the goats or sins on the left. It was then deemed extraordinary, that a writer should be so bewildered by his prejudices as to imagine that the sins of men could "go away into everlasting punishment," while the guilty agents were admitted to the kingdom of bliss. "What!" some were disposed to say, "can *theft* be punished, if the *thief* escapes? Can we imprison *murder*, if the *murderer* goes free?"

It may, however, be proper to inquire, whether this strange hypothesis implies any thing more repugnant to sound philosophy, or any thing more impossible, than the doctrine of substituted punishment, which has for centuries been popular in the countries of Christendom. If sin can be punished separate from the sinner by the sufferings of an innocent substitute, why may not theft be sent to suffer in hell, while the thief enjoys the felicity of heaven? We can form no idea of any way in which theft can be punished, but by the sufferings of the thief; but, if it can be done, it would seem quite as reasonable that it should be by sending it away into everlasting punishment, without the thief, as by inflicting sufferings on a being perfectly righteous.

We admit the possibility of inflicting sufferings on a righteous being, calling him a substitute for sinners. But surely this is not punishing sin; and to call it so is an abuse of language. Punishment is the infliction of deserved evil; but it was impossible that Christ could deserve the evil due to our sins; and equally impossible that our sins should be punished in his sufferings. If he was made a substitute for sinners, his righteousness was a substitute for our sins, and as a righteous being he was caused to suffer, and to suffer because he was righteous. But how shocking the idea that

righteousness was punished instead of sin, and thus called the *desert* of our iniquities! — “a fair expression of the desert of our sins,” — to “tell how much we ought to suffer!”

Here we may again bring to view the “device” of Mr. Barnes, — an innocent man suffering “on the rack or amidst flames,” as a substitute for a murderer. Do we, in the supposed case, see *murder* punished? Not at all. The guilt of murder does not cleave to the innocent sufferer. Let us suppose a certain number of traitors under sentence of death. The time for execution has arrived. A vast concourse of people are assembled to witness the appalling spectacle. But what do they behold? A man, eminent for dignity and righteousness, comes forward, and offers to be hanged as a substitute for the traitors, that “violated law” may be maintained, and the convicts allowed a longer space for repentance. The governor imagines, that the death of such an eminent man will be an adequate substitute for fifty traitors; the offer of the good man is therefore accepted, and the thousand of spectators witness the sacrifice of the best man in the state as a voluntary substitute for the fifty traitors. But do they see *treason* punished? Do they see the laws honored? Do they see the government honorably maintained? Do they see in the sufferings of the righteous man a solemn assurance that treason is not to pass unpunished in Massachusetts? To all these questions we say, No. They do not see treason punished; because the sufferer is not a traitor, and treason is absent. But they see a righteous man a substitute for traitors, and righteousness a substitute for treason, and the good man subjected to an infamous death. They see the law dishonored, and its demands trampled under foot, by the infliction of evil on the just, that traitors may escape. Hence they see government dishonored by a flagrant perversion of the principles of justice. Instead of seeing a solemn assurance that treason is not to pass unpunished in Massachusetts, they see in fact that it does pass unpunished, and will continue to pass unpunished as long as the government shall hang the innocent as a substitute for the guilty. Let it be supposed that the fifty traitors are witnesses of the death of their righteous substitute. Is it possible for them to imagine that *his sufferings* are the *desert of their treason*? Or that their sin does not

pass unpunished? No. They may indeed be moved by the kindness of the good man, in becoming their substitute; but they cannot feel that their treason is punished by his death; nor that his sufferings are the desert of their transgressions. If they are intelligent men they must both see and feel, that their sin is as really unpunished as it would have been had an inferior animal or a lifeless *image* been hanged as their substitute. In either case, it would be possible to call this substitution the punishment due to treason, and to let the guilty escape; but we should think that hanging the image was far better than hanging the righteous man.

We know indeed that it has been possible for learned men to say, that our sins were punished in the sufferings of Christ, and that the purposes of punishment were as fully answered as they would have been, had all our race been punished according to their deserts. So it has been possible for learned men to say, that, "while the Messiah hung in agonies on the cross, the Father regarded him as the greatest of all sinners, — as guilty of all the sins of mankind, or, at least, all the sins of all the elect, — and that God accordingly poured out his wrath upon him without mercy, inflicting the full penalty of the law, which was due to all for whom he died." Yet all these assertions may be equally groundless; and it may yet be found, that very learned and very good men have believed, or thought they believed, doctrines which implied impossibilities, and which were very reproachful to their Maker.

There is one circumstance which renders the hypothesis, that our sins were punished in the sufferings of Christ, more extraordinary than the one which implied, that sins, without the sinners, will go away into everlasting punishment. In regard to all our race who have been born since the crucifixion of Christ, it is supposed that their sins were punished while neither the sins nor the sinners had any existence; and in regard to those now living it is supposed, that their sins were actually punished many centuries before they were born. Yet who does not know that punishment is an *effect* or a *consequence* of sin, and not its *antecedent*? Was it then possible for Christ to eat the fruits of our ways and to be filled with our devices, nearly two thousand years before we had any existence? Was it possible with God to inflict sufferings on Christ as the *effects* or *consequences* of sins

which did not exist, and as a substitute for sinners who were not born for more than seventeen centuries after he endured the sufferings of the cross? Can sufferings, endured eighteen hundred years ago by an innocent person, who suffered "for righteousness' sake," be "a fair expression of the desert of our sins" which have been committed to-day, and of the sins of others which may be committed two thousand years hence? Let candor and common sense answer these questions.

Finally. We object to the hypothesis, that in the sufferings of Christ may be seen "a fair expression of the desert of our sin," because we believe those sufferings were endured for purposes of a very different nature, and far more exalted, benevolent, and necessary. We believe them to have been endured "to tell *how much*" a perfectly good being will endure, if necessary to the discharge of his duty, when employed to save men from their sins, and bring them to God; and also to show the ministers of the gospel and private Christians with what a meek, submissive, and forgiving spirit they should meet and endure "the contradiction of sinners against" themselves, and all the evils they may be called to suffer as the disciples of the Messiah. As to substituted punishment, we believe this to be unnecessary and impossible under the government of a wise and benevolent God; but the two purposes which we have mentioned, or the two lessons which we suppose to have been taught by the sufferings of the Messiah, seem to us of immense importance; and by him they have certainly been taught in a manner truly impressive, by obedience unto death, "even the death of the cross."

We do not say nor mean, that those were the only purposes to be answered by the Saviour's sufferings. We will recollect, that "thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." We also recollect that Jesus said to Pilate, "To this end I was born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth;" and if we may judge from events, it was deemed by God of great importance that his Son's testimony should be closed on the cross, and sealed with his blood. So he "spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all." We

might mention several other important purposes which were to be effected by the Son's obedience unto death; but had there been none but the two first mentioned, these, if duly understood and impressed on the minds of Christians, would, in our opinion, have a far more beneficial influence, than the belief that God inflicted on his righteous Son the punishment due to sinners.

That we are not under a mistake, in supposing that the Saviour suffered for the two purposes which we have named, may be obvious to all who will candidly examine the subject. John, having mentioned the love displayed when Christ "laid down his life for us," immediately subjoins, "And we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Surely he did not mean that we should suffer a substituted punishment for the brethren; yet he supposed we should imitate Christ. Peter says expressly, "For hereunto are ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps." The same doctrine is emphatically taught by Paul in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Philippians. No intelligent man will say, that it is the duty of Christians to suffer vicarious punishment one for another; yet, if we may rely on the testimony of the three inspired Apostles, John, Peter, and Paul, nothing is more certain than that we should let the same mind be in us which was also in Christ Jesus, who humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross,—who loved us and gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

We see no evidence that the Apostles believed, that in the sufferings of Christ we have "a fair expression of the desert of our sin," but we have much evidence that they regarded those sufferings as designed "to tell how much" they should be willing to do and to suffer, when necessary to the faithful discharge of their duty as his Apostles. By such views of his sufferings they were doubtless excited, encouraged, and supported under the trials they had to endure, from the ignorance, the prejudices, and the malignity of persecutors. Of himself and others Paul could say, — "Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body. For we who live are always delivered unto death

for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh." 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11. Respecting himself individually Paul could say, "I am ready not to be bound only, but to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus." Acts xxi. 13. "For I am ready to be *offered*, and the time of my departure is at hand." 2 Tim. iv. 6. And what consolation must it have been to the Apostles while they could believe and say, that they were "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ;" and, "if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be glorified together;" and that, "if we suffer, we shall also reign with him." Rom. viii. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 12.

When we consider the powerful prejudices which the Apostles had to encounter, we can hardly doubt that much of their success is to be ascribed to their possessing the self-denying spirit of their Lord, and a readiness, like him, to do and to suffer any thing which was necessary for the advancement of the cause in which he laid down his life. The benevolent and self-denying spirit of the Messiah is the true evangelical spirit. To possess this is infinitely more important to men than a belief that he suffered the punishment due to their offences. For this spirit is counted to them for righteousness; it disposes them to serve God in this world, and it prepares them to dwell with God in the world to come. Hence we may see the force of our Saviour's precepts,—"Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart." "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." We may also see why Paul so frequently had much to say about the cross, and why he determined not to know any thing among his hearers save Christ and him crucified. By his "obedience unto death, even the death of the cross," Christ had borne witness unto the truth, relating to the love of God in sending his Son to be the Saviour of the world, his disposition to save sinners, the righteousness required as a condition of salvation and eternal life, and the various truths adapted to make men wise unto salvation. All these Christ had sealed on the cross with his blood. The object of Paul's ministry was to inculcate the same truths which Christ had taught, and to persuade men to become of the same disposition which Christ had exemplified even unto death.

We may now appeal to the consciences of all intelligent Christians, and ask, Would not the views of the sufferings of Christ which we have endeavoured to illustrate, if duly understood and impressed on the minds of Christians, have a far more humbling and salutary influence, than a belief that his sufferings were the punishment due for the sins of the world? Would they not occasion a most favorable change in the character of Christians? Would they not eradicate the spirit of hostility from among the disciples of Christ, unite them in love, and make them *one*, according to his valedictory prayer in the presence of his Apostles? Would they not greatly subserve the purpose of him "who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works"? It is very obvious that men may believe that their sins were punished in the sufferings of Christ, and still remain very wicked; but no man can let the "same mind" be in him which was in Jesus Christ, and still remain in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. He must be a true Christian.

ART. V. — *A System of Phrenology*. By GEORGE COMBE, late President of the Phrenological Society. Second American from the Third Edinburgh Edition, revised and enlarged by the Author. Boston. Marsh, Capen, and Lyon. 1834. 8vo. pp. 664.*

It is hardly thirty years since a solitary individual, unaided by any of the friendly accidents of condition, but

* To prevent misunderstandings, we take this occasion to observe, once for all, that we must not be held responsible for the views and reasonings advanced in every article of this work. On many subjects, and Phrenology is one of them, we shall sometimes insert, as heretofore, well written papers on either side, that our readers may have a fair opportunity of making up an opinion on the merits of the question. It is not our intention, however, to encourage such controversies by the frequent admission of them; and we shall always exercise our right of declining articles, even without giving a reason to their authors, or any other reason than the general one of their unsuitableness to our purposes.

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relying solely on his own bold spirit and a deep sense of the magnitude of his cause, travelled over Europe, proclaiming the doctrines of a new and strange philosophy. A more general, fierce, and uncompromising opposition, than Phrenology met with in its infancy, no science ever yet encountered and overcame. Wit, argument, ridicule, calumny, and the civil power, each furnished its weapons for the contest; the attack was incessant and from every quarter, and no stone was left unturned that seemed likely to contribute in the least to the work of destruction. The anatomical discoveries of its founders were pronounced to be a mere sleight of hand, and their observations to have been invented or chosen for the purpose; their private characters were traduced, and the men and their works charged with ignorance, hypocrisy, and empiricism. The science, however, had within it the seeds of a strong and rapid growth, and its progress was viewed with the same bitter feelings that the announcement of great and startling truths has always been apt to excite in the human breast. The arm of power was stretched out by the decaying dynasties of the old world to crush it by shutting the mouths of its friends; the Vatican fulminated its edicts to awe it into silence; learned bodies registered their decisions against it; the great ones in literature and science turned away from it with a sneer of derision; the hacks of literature spattered it with their venomous effusions, till its fate seemed, more than once, to be irrevocably sealed. Yet in spite of this formidable opposition, which nothing but truth could have successfully withstood, Phrenology has spread to an extent unexampled in the history of science. Societies for its promotion have been formed in every quarter of the globe, the principal anatomical discoveries are established beyond question, its doctrines are espoused, wholly or in part, by many an eminent name, and edition after edition of the writings of Spurzheim and Combe have been published, in rapid succession, to gratify the increasing desire of the community to examine the subject for themselves.

The present work of Mr. Combe is the production of a vigorous and discriminative mind, that has studied the subject well, considered it in every point of view, and is impressed with a deep conviction of the strength and importance of its cause. It is a clear and able exposition of the

science, written in a calm and dispassionate tone, and in a style that is enriched by a felicity of illustration and warmth of coloring that never suffer the interest to flag. We find in it the same plain and logical reasoning, and the same purity and elevation of sentiment that characterize his other writings; and it is withal so strictly inductive in its spirit, that we readily believe the author's declaration in the Preface, that "what he asserts in point of fact, he has seen; and what he maintains in argument, he has found confirmed by experience." Besides the topics usually treated, he has chapters on the *modes of activity of the faculties, effects of size on the manifestations, national character and development of brain*, &c., which abound in novel and judicious views. That in which *conception, imagination, memory, judgment, attention, association*, &c., are treated of, and shown to be merely states, or degrees of activity of the proper faculties of the mind, we earnestly recommend to those who persist in mistaking the condition of a faculty for the faculty itself, and on that mistake found their objection to Phrenology. His distinction between *power* and *activity* is founded in nature, and should never be forgotten in judging of character. As our author's remarks on this subject, besides their intrinsic merit, present a favorable specimen of his manner, we will quote a paragraph for the edification of our readers.

"The doctrine, that power is a characteristic of mind, distinguished at once from mere intellectual acumen, and also from activity, is one of great practical importance; and it explains a variety of phenomena of which we previously possessed no theory. In society we meet with persons whose whole manner is little, whom we instinctively feel to be unfit for any great enterprise or arduous duty, and who are, nevertheless, distinguished for amiable feeling and good sense. This springs from a small brain, favorably proportioned in its parts. Other individuals, again, with far less polish, inferior information, and fewer amiable qualities, impress us with a sentiment of their power, force, energy, or greatness; we instinctively feel that they have weight, and that, if acting against us, they would prove formidable opponents. This arises from great size. Bonaparte, who had an admirable tact in judging of human nature, distinguishes between mere cleverness and force of character, and almost always prefers the latter. In his *Memoirs*, he speaks of some of his generals

as possessing talents, intellect, book-learning, but as still being nobody, as wanting that weight and comprehensiveness which fit a man for great enterprises ; while he adverts to others, as possessing limited intellect and little judgment, but prodigious force of character ; and considers them as admirably adapted by this qualification to lead soldiers through peril and difficulty, provided they be directed by minds superior to their own. Murat was such a man ; and Bonaparte appears on the whole to have liked such officers, for they did not trouble him with thinking for themselves, while they possessed energy adequate to the execution of his most gigantic designs. The leader of a popular party, who has risen to that rank by election, or assumed it with acquiescence, will be found to have a large brain. The leaders of an army or a fleet also require a similar endowment, for otherwise they would have authority without natural weight, and would never inspire confidence in their followers. Bonaparte had a large head ; and officers and soldiers, citizens and statesmen, bowed before his mental greatness, however much they might detest the use he made of his power. In him, all the organs, animal, moral, and intellectual, (Conscientiousness and, perhaps, Firmness excepted) seem to have been large ; great activity was added ; and hence arose commanding energy, combined with profound and comprehensive intellectual capacity."

Leaving now all discussion of skulls and organs, and every other anatomical consideration, we shall take the opportunity here offered, to examine the relation that Phrenology holds to morality and religion. When a new science or doctrine is presented to the world, the first point that engages the attention of the philanthropist is that of its bearing on the highest interests of humanity. If it profess to develope but a single principle capable of beneficial application in the duties of life, or point even a finger to a nobler and wider sphere of action ; if it open to the bold spirit of man one new and encouraging view of the future, or make him master of a new truth to aid in accomplishing the purposes of his being, then, certainly, whatever other claims it may possess, this entitles it to the respect of those who have the good of the race at heart, sufficient to obtain for it, at least, a fair and careful examination. That Phrenology advances pretensions of this kind, one needs but the slightest acquaintance with its doctrines to know ; it is our business at present to show that these pretensions are well-

founded. The fact that Phrenology affords a powerful support to the cause of morality and religion, may be hardly suspected by those who have gathered their opinions from a class of minds too proud to examine it thoroughly, or too small and bigoted to comprehend its relations. Its opponents, who have generally been more anxious for victory than truth, found that their object would be better gained by raising the cry of bad tendency, than by meeting the Phrenologists on their own ground, and fighting them with their own weapons. However, it is time that well-educated and intelligent men ceased to be influenced by representations fit only to deceive the baser multitude, and came to the examination, not of the reveries of enthusiasts, but of the works of laborers in the field of nature, whose exertions have been guided by genius, and sanctified by a sincere love of truth. Whatever we say on the subject here, can give but a faint idea of the numerous relations that exist between this science and many other branches of knowledge, and especially of the changes it is destined to effect in the condition of society. To know fully its spirit and bearings, nothing short of a thorough and diligent study of its writings will suffice; and nothing but a similar study of the pages of nature can ever settle the question of its truth. We expect to make no converts; but if we should be the means of putting one ingenuous mind on the track of inquiry, we certainly shall not be dissatisfied with the result of our trouble.

Phrenology recommends itself to us, at the first glance, by avoiding the fruitful sources of error to which the metaphysicians have laid themselves open, in their neglect of the connexion between mind and matter, of the mental manifestations of the inferior animals, and of the special purpose of every particular power of which the general economy is composed. The present state of our knowledge warrants us in rejecting any ethical or metaphysical system, that does not recognise and explain the adaptation of the human constitution to the circumstances in which it is placed, its reference, in every particular, to its sphere of action and the purpose of its being, and furnish a clear and satisfactory theory of the varieties of individual and national character. Phrenology, therefore, establishes the fundamental principle, that for every special end and object of our existence, nature has provided us with an original and distinct power,

by the exercise of which this end or object is accomplished, and demonstrates the power and its results to be necessary in maintaining the relations of the constitution, as an harmonious and consistent whole, to the world around it. Seeing that the bodily organs are constituted in reference to external circumstances, it assumes also the same adaptation of the higher powers to the objects of their activity; and, from the same necessity that certain forms of organization are required by peculiarities of food, climate, &c., it is inferred that the moral and intellectual conditions are determined by the sphere and destinies of the individual. If for every and the smallest bodily function, an organ is provided that performs its office with perfect regularity and exactness, who, not utterly blinded by prejudice, will deny the existence, or at least the reasonableness, of a similar provision for the due preparation for and attainment of the highest and noblest purposes of our being? Phrenology looks for the material instruments whereby the subtler powers of our nature are exercised, defines their respective extent of action, examines the result of their combined operation and reciprocal influence, and furnishes a complete and consistent analysis of the moral and intellectual manifestations. If in a carnivorous animal we expect to find limbs adapted for overtaking its prey, claws and teeth for seizing and tearing it in pieces, senses for discerning it at a distance, and a stomach for digesting it, ought we not, in consistence with the same principle, to search for that stranger power that gave the spontaneous impulse to attack and destroy? While the Phrenologist sees the smallest process in the bodily economy accomplished by powers acting independent of volition, he believes that philosophy to be dishonorable to the Builder of his frame, that would deny an equal care for the nobler processes of the mental economy. While he is as willing as his opponents to admit the effects of education and other external circumstances, he contends for some definite and original faculty *to be* affected in this manner, and that the influence of these agents is confined by determinate limits. The truth is, though little suspected we fear, that since Locke's attack on the doctrine of innate ideas, people have become so accustomed to attribute the phenomena of mind to the influence of habit, association, &c., that the *mind itself* seems to be entirely lost sight of, and practi-

cally, if not theoretically, believed to be what Hume would make it, a mere bundle of perceptions. From such a philosophy, which makes the most wonderful phenomena of our nature the mere creature of the material world, Phrenology delivers us, and presents in its place a rational and intelligible exposition of the mental powers, and shows their relations to the moral, organic, and physical laws. That it has done all it professes to have done, we are not very anxious to contend; but that it has been successful to a certain extent, is now, we believe, denied by few who have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the subject, by a tolerably unprejudiced and thorough investigation. It must also be remembered, that these results are not necessarily dependent on any theory of the structure of the brain, but may stand, though every anatomical doctrine of Gall and Spurzheim should be swept away before the progress of discovery. Striving, as Phrenology now is, for the spread of a pure, practical morality, battling manfully with the forces that ignorance and selfishness have always arrayed against the rights of humanity, and laboring with the philanthropists of every sect and nation, wherever an opening is offered, in the great cause of human improvement, neither Phrenology, nor any other science acting in such a spirit, can be pronounced a visionary speculation, worthy of utter contempt and rejection. The spirit that glowed in the heart of that founder of the science whose voice is yet ringing in our ears, and preëminently entitled him to be called the "friend of man," is the spirit of Phrenology, and this should be sufficient to protect it from the scoffs of sciolists, and the sneers of the conceited adherents of an old philosophy.

In the constitution of every animal, the preservation of the individual and the species is an object of essential and paramount importance; and, consequently, we are authorized to expect in the natural instincts of man suitable provision for securing this great end. We use the term *instinct* advisedly, for we believe it is not denied, that the actions of the inferior animals that have reference to this end, are instinctive, or the result of an innate, involuntary impulse. Accordingly, Phrenology has demonstrated, by observation, what *a priori* reasoning had suggested, the existence of several distinct powers that prompt him to those acts that are necessary to the essential conditions of his existence.

Their impulses are purely instinctive, their objects definite, and their exercise attended with gratification. Man, however, is something more than a brute ; he is made for higher objects than are gained by the exercise of his animal nature. A corresponding difference, therefore, is found, to go no further, in the manifestations of these animal propensities themselves, which, though their primitive end is the same, are also rendered subservient, by the regulation of other powers, to the higher purposes of his nature. In the brutes these propensities act with irresistible vigor and rapidity, embracing every opportunity for their gratification, and accomplishing their exclusive object, the *preservation* of the individual and the species. The *destructive* instinct blindly impels to acts of destruction whenever occasion is presented, regardless of any other consideration than its ability to perform the act. This propensity, thus constituted in man, would have been incompatible with that higher end to which he is destined, and therefore, while it preserves its primitive function, it is also directed to another and very different sphere of action. Instead of constantly urging him to the shedding of blood, it throws him into that attitude of defence which repels aggression before it is made, and imparts that energy of character so necessary to carry him through the difficulties that are thickly strown in every path of high and honorable exertion. In the brutes, the *love of offspring* is confined to the few offices of care and attention that the state of helpless infancy requires, and these are bestowed without discrimination or measure. In man, it acts not only in the first, but last stages of existence, and, according to the nature of the object, may be increased, diminished, or suspended, even to its entire cessation. The *instinctive* provision for the wants of the future, which impels the brute solely to the act of hoarding, is regulated in man by circumstances and conditions, and, instead of being confined to the demands of hunger, extends to every object that can minister to the enjoyments of an intelligent creature.

This fact alone, of the deviation of the animal propensities from the essential and primitive direction which they are made to assume in brutes, points out a higher and better destiny for man than what consists exclusively in their gratification. In the former, they are necessarily the irresponsible and despotic masters of the whole creature ; in the latter, we

are forced to admire the contrivance, by which, while performing the same offices in the general economy, they are rendered the obedient and useful servants of a very different set of powers. Their end, however, is entirely selfish, and could not, by any modification of their action, produce the moral and religious feelings of our nature. These have reference to the social condition of man, and their objects are its preservation and well-being, in the same way that the propensities have reference to the selfish interests of the individual. The capacity for improvement, whereby man is distinguished, requires the assistance and coöperation of many for the attainment of a common purpose, and a sacrifice of the particular to the general good. For discerning, then, the relations between man and man, to which the propensities are totally inadequate, the plainest reasoning would infer, what Phrenology establishes by observation, the necessity of faculties, innate and universal in their existence, though unequal in power, in the various races and conditions of the species. To respect the labors of another might be the result of a fear of retribution; but this cause, besides being partial in its operation, would require a state of vigilance incompatible with other and higher duties. To relieve the distresses of a fellow, and pour the oil of joy and gladness into the heart of an enemy, would be also beyond the sphere of action of any of the propensities. But, these ends being absolutely necessary in the social state, we are obliged to look for faculties, by means of which they are obtained; and this we do with the same confidence in the propriety of the inquiry, with which we ever look for an adequate cause of a given effect. It is true that the moral feelings, though their primitive object is the happiness of others, are also, by a reflex operation, conducive in the very highest degree to the happiness of the individual, and so far are selfish in their nature; yet it by no means follows, that they are the result solely of the selfish propensities. There is a philosophy, indeed, considerably in vogue, which teaches that man *learns* the selfish advantages of morality, and becomes insensibly a moral being purely by effect of association; but the doctrine is at variance with all the established principles of our constitution. Does an animal gratify the cravings of hunger, in consequence of observing ever so early the necessity of food for maintaining existence; or

watch with fondness over its tender offspring, because the species could not otherwise be continued? If an express provision is made for those ends in the animal economy, that are required by the conditions of its physical existence, is it for a moment to be supposed that those greater ends, that are connected with the interests of the race, should be left to the varying and tardy suggestions of the reasoning faculties? Such an idea cannot be entertained, without placing the moral below the animal part of our nature in the order of importance, and degrading it from that pre-eminence which distinguishes the human from the brute.

The perception of moral distinctions and the feeling of obligation are produced, according to the Phrenologists, by three special faculties, Conscientiousness, Veneration, and Benevolence. The emotions they excite, and the actions to which they prompt, are denominated *virtuous*, and none but such as proceed from their activity are rightfully entitled to that name. The slightest result of any of these faculties is virtuous, but it is only when they all act in harmony, in causes most intimately connected with the best interests of mankind, and are enlightened by a cultivated intellect, and supported by energetic propensities, that they give rise to that virtue which receives the tribute of universal homage and admiration. The essential function of the first of these faculties is, to produce the feeling of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of merit and demerit. That of Veneration is, to produce the sentiment of respect and reverence for whatever is great and good. Benevolence desires the happiness of others, and disposes to feelings of compassion and active goodness. It is from these faculties, acting singly or together, that are derived our perception of justice, truth, and moral beauty; that sense of duty which disregards all selfish considerations; that charity which covereth, as with a mantle, the weaknesses of our fellows; that spirit of benevolence which seeks out objects of distress, and ministers consolation and peace to the wounded heart. In the following passage is a beautiful summary of their functions, expressed with Phrenological exactness. "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Micah vi. 8.) Standing on the vantage ground to which the observation of nature has conducted

us, and seeing clearly, what the metaphysicians discerned, as through a glass, darkly, we proclaim these feelings to be the result of no accidental circumstances, but of special, innate faculties, created in harmony with the animal and intellectual powers of our nature.

We are now enabled to answer the vexed questions concerning virtue, moral obligation, right, &c., that have perplexed metaphysicians from the earliest times, and are now as near being settled among them as ever; for what else could come of their inquiries, while ignorant of the very elements of the moral constitution of man. It is an old theory, and one far from being abandoned now, that virtue is an immutable, independent existence, like mathematical truth, and, like that too, discerned by an act of the understanding; — a better illustration of the limited and inaccurate views that have prevailed on this point, could not be wished. When we talk of matter and mind being independent existences, we have some definite notion of what we are talking about; but, as truth is neither matter nor mind, we apprehend it cannot be brought into this category; it is merely a term expressive of certain relations that are discerned by a faculty of the mind. They are, in fact, a product of the mind, of which, it is a violation of all propriety of speech, to say that they have an independent existence. Virtue, which in like manner is an abstract term, we have no idea of, except in connexion with persons or actions; and, while we admit the immutability of moral distinctions, we are obliged to look upon them as the result of the constitution of our nature, in conformity with the same law, whereby the adaptation of the eye to light is productive of the sensation of vision. Had we been differently constituted, virtue would not have been what it now is. Another theory rather popular at present, while it acknowledges the fallacy of the above views, believes that the relations, expressed by virtue and vice, are those only which are discovered between actions and their consequences. That the design and ultimate end of virtue is its beneficial effects, of course no one can doubt; yet, as many a useful deed is far from being virtuous, the question still recurs, what is that occasional ingredient of utility on which we confer the title of virtue, and why are certain actions accounted virtuous, before their consequences can be seen or

thought of. Utility, in itself, is not virtue, neither is virtue utility. Active benevolence has been universally recognised as one of the most estimable of virtues ; yet if a person, actuated by the purest desire of doing good, should give notice, that, for three days in the week, he should furnish a dinner to every poor and hungry man who chose to come for it, we might applaud him indeed for his good intentions, but we should certainly deplore their pernicious effects. We would not go the length of a contemporary writer, who declares that virtue is not right because it is useful ; for, if it have any end at all in the human economy, it must be a useful, pernicious, or indifferent one, and as it cannot be either of the two last, it must be the first. If the sole end of virtue is the highest and most durable happiness of man, when properly directed, then certainly is it preëminently useful ; and if we are required to give the *wherefore* of our regard for virtue, we can only offer its beneficial tendency.

According to Phrenology, virtue and vice are abstract terms, designating the relations that exist between actions and certain faculties of our nature, and therefore can only be predicated of voluntary agents. It is true we talk of virtuous and vicious actions, and the phraseology may be allowed, provided we refer only to some qualities or dispositions in the agents by which they are performed. Any action or disposition, that has its source in the activity of the faculties above specified, but no other, has a rightful claim to the title of virtue. Those which emanate from Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, or any other than the moral sentiments, indicate no virtue in the doer ; for, however useful to others they may prove, it is not the attainment of this result for which they are primarily prompted. The moral sentiments, too, may be gratified with this effect ; but in this case their office is secondary or accidental, the essential aim being the accomplishment of selfish views, devoid of any regard to the good of others. On this view of the subject we are enabled to see the force and full meaning of those instructions of our Saviour, wherein he exhorts his disciples not to do good that they might be seen of men, for such motives had no part in the scheme of pure and elevated morality, which it was his business to teach. The reason is, that though the aim of these selfish sentiments might sometimes be fulfilled by doing good, it might equally

well, by doing harm ; and the cause of universal, self-sacrificing philanthropy which he proclaimed, was not to be left to such uncertain and inefficient means.

The same faculties that recognise moral distinctions, also feel of necessity the obligation to the practice of virtue. If they were discerned like mathematical truth, by an act of the understanding, we might with reason be at a loss to see the ground of obligation ; but on the Phrenological theory, these sentiments not only perceive moral distinctions, but by a law of their constitution, prompt the individual to a corresponding course of action. All that we can say of the matter is, that these phenomena are the result of the activity of the faculties in question, and, constituted as we are, we cannot conceive of their independent existence. Our feelings of merit and demerit, however, are derived from another source ; for these terms seem to express the relations that exist between the moral sentiments and the animal propensities. Each faculty being instinctively excited to activity, seeks its own gratification, without the slightest feeling of merit or demerit. But when one class of faculties is prompting to this course of action, and another class to that ; when Benevolence is impelling us to give, and Acquisitiveness to keep ; Veneration to revere, and Love of Approbation to ridicule ; Conscientiousness to honorable conduct and fair dealing, and Secretiveness and Self-Esteem to hollow professions and sordid selfishness, then are we sensible of that war between the flesh and the spirit, so strikingly described by the Apostle ; and, according to the severity of the struggle, is our estimate of the subsequent action. The man, who is almost irresistibly impelled, by the force of nature, to deeds of goodness, is the object of our heartiest admiration, but is far from being entitled to that merit which virtue claims in less happily endowed organizations.

The objection that has been always urged against Hutcheson's theory of a *moral sense*, will no doubt occur to our readers as equally strong against ours, viz., that the faculties, not being universal, are not innate, but merely the result of adventitious causes. It cannot be denied that this objection, not to mention others, was unanswerable by the advocates of a moral sense, which had been represented with such close analogies to the physical senses, that it appeared

equally necessary, and its absence of course perfectly inexplicable. It is certainly true, that there is hardly any thing that we call vice, that may not be found among some people or other, at some time or other, to have been practised, without the slightest idea of its relations to virtue ; but it is equally true, that no people have ever been observed, among whom moral distinctions of some kind or other have not been recognised. This fact is readily explained on the theory we have been inculcating, which looks upon virtue as merely an abstract term for the relations that exist between certain actions and the moral faculties of our nature. In one race, infanticide is hardly a sin ; in another, it is a horrible crime : in one, duplicity is commended ; in another, detested : and this, for the simple reason, that the relations between the moral faculties and a large endowment of Philoprogenitiveness and Secretiveness, are not what they are between these faculties and a small endowment of these propensities. When the selfish propensities have relatively a small developement, the impulses of the higher sentiments are most easily followed, because not counteracted by impulses of a more imperious character. The supremacy of the moral sentiments, therefore, is implied in the very idea of virtue ; and that this supremacy is the great end of our constitution, is a truth written in legible characters on every arrangement in nature. If indeed the moral sentiments ever confounded moral distinctions, calling virtue vice, and vice virtue, then undoubtedly the objection would stand, and our theory fall to the ground ; but no instance of the kind has ever been observed among any nation or people under the sun. If, in numberless cases, principles and conduct have been regarded with fondness, which elsewhere would be loathed and proscribed, it is not because the moral faculties look on them with approbation, but because they are too little developed to furnish motives of action of a higher and stronger kind, than the selfish sentiments supply. Amid the fury and tumult of the animal propensities, and the darkness of a benighted intellect, their feeble voice is stifled and disregarded. If we are required to furnish a reason or final cause of this phenomenon, we are obliged to confess our total inability ; but we are warranted, by all analogy, in believing that it will not always thus continue. Phrenology teaches us, that man is now and, for any thing we know,

always will be, in a *transition* state ; ever passing from under the bondage of the animal propensities and sentiments, and ever subjecting himself, farther and farther, to the government of the moral powers and enlightened intellect. Ages may elapse before the whole change shall have been effected ; and, if we imagine that we are any nearer its completion, than the lowest savage is to that stage of the process which we have gained, we are laboring under a gross misconception of the real destinies of man. In the brutes, every faculty is instinctively exercised to a degree that is determined by its capacity, or the end for which it is created. In most races of men they are thus exercised, only so far as the preservation of the individual and the species requires ; any thing beyond this, is the result of a long, unceasing process of developement, unconfined by the narrow boundaries of the individual, but extending, from age to age, through the whole history of the species. This fact, which is universally admitted in regard to the intellectual powers, seems to be not quite so obvious where the moral powers are in question, though it would not, probably, be denied, that the sum of morality in the world is always proportional to that of knowledge. No reason has ever yet been offered, why this constant progression, so obvious in the past history of man, should not continue through all coming time. Certainly, as it appears to us, not until every member of the race shall fulfill the requisitions of the moral law, will the supremacy of the moral sentiments be completely established ; and this we take to be the only goal of man's improvement. We see nothing visionary in these views, whether we put our faith in Phrenology, or any other philosophy not wholly devoid of common sense ; for whatever measure of improvement any one individual may have obtained, is also accessible at some time or other to the whole race. We are not advocating the doctrine of perfectibility, if thereby is meant a condition free from all error and frailty ; but what we do contend for is, that in the progress of the race, the moral faculties will become capable of acting with sufficient force to maintain their rightful supremacy, not only in a few happily constituted individuals, but in every member of the great family of man. Enough has been said, we trust, to obviate the objections to the Phrenological theory of virtue, and we will now notice its practical utility.

The moral faculties acting from a blind, instinctive impulse, it follows that the amount of good they produce must depend on the direction they receive from the intellectual powers. Looking at the great end of virtue, it is not only necessary to feel virtuous emotions, but the guidance of an enlightened intellect is equally required in pursuing the course of conduct which they dictate. Without some regulation of this kind, the best and purest intentions, as in the case mentioned above, may be productive of incalculable mischief. How many schemes of benevolence, and arduous and expensive efforts for the amelioration of man, have utterly failed, from a want of that knowledge of the principles of human nature, which an enlightened and cultivated intellect only could furnish; and, while their projectors are lost in astonishment at the melancholy issue of their labors, we see nothing but the simple operation of the moral and intellectual laws. It might be instructive to adduce some cases of this sort, but we have room for only one by way of illustration, which may be seen in the note below.* So little suspected indeed is the truth of this matter at the present

* During the last general war in Europe the influence of Great Britain in Sicily enabled her to introduce into that island her own form of government, in place of the gross misrule under which it had labored for ages. The issue of the experiment is best described in the following passage from "Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania," by the Rev. Mr. Hughes. — "No words can describe the scenes which daily occurred upon the introduction of the representative system in Sicily. The House of Parliament, neither moderated by discretion, nor conducted with dignity, bore the resemblance of a receptacle for lunatics, instead of a Council-room for legislators; and the disgraceful scenes so often enacted at the hustings in England, were here transferred to the very floor of the senate. As soon as the President had proposed the subject for debate, and restored some degree of order from the confusion of tongues which followed, a system of crimination and recrimination invariably commenced by several speakers, accompanied with such furious gesticulations and hideous contortions of countenance, such bitter taunts, and personal invectives, that blows generally ensued. This was the signal for universal uproar. The President's voice was unheeded and unheard; the whole house arose, — partisans of different antagonists mingled in the affray, when the ground was literally covered with combatants kicking, biting, and scratching, and exhibiting all the evolutions of the old Pancratic contests. Such a state of things could not be expected to last a long time; indeed this constitutional synod was dissolved in the very first year of its creation, and martial law established." — Vol. I. p. 5.

day, that many a gigantic effort is making, to bestow those blessings that arise from a state of high moral and intellectual advancement, on people, whom the predominance of their animal propensities and the feebleness of their minds incapacitate from enjoying or appreciating them. The national character and institutions of a people are determined, not by climate or any other physical cause, but by the constitution of their animal, moral, and intellectual powers; and any change in the former must be preceded by a corresponding change in the latter. It is not enough that we ardently desire the amelioration of our fellows, and give them books and forms of government; a higher though more arduous duty remains, of fitting them for the reception of our benefits by a course of slow and tedious preparation. If we expect that truth needs only to be known to be received, that the light which beams from the very source of truth and knowledge, needs only to be seen, to warm and renovate the inmost nature of man, we are grievously mistaken as to the true principles of our moral constitution, and our hopes will terminate in disappointment. Ages have been required to qualify mankind for that degree of perfection to which the institutions of the present day have arrived, and yet it is seriously believed that these institutions can be engrafted, at once, on the social condition of the most savage races.*

* No savage people are more favorably disposed by their cerebral organization to appreciate the benefits of civilization and Christianity, than those of the Sandwich Islands. The following extract from a letter of one of the missionaries, published in the "Boston Recorder" of April 20th, 1833, shows the result of their exertions. Whether under a different management it would have been the same, we cannot say; neither would we have it imagined, that in quoting their own words, we are anxious to endorse the shameless lies that have been told about the missionaries. We have a high respect for their honesty and intelligence; their want of success is owing to the very nature of the case. "I came to this station as an associate with Mr. Baldwin. I then knew but little of this language, — but my knowledge was such that I was immediately employed in teaching a school composed of those who could not read. Between 30 and 40 attended. This school does not now exist. A school for females was commenced at the same time with about 300 scholars. Not one third of this number are now to be seen assembling for instruction. We have a large meeting-house, capable of holding between 2,000 and 3,000 souls, and in Waimea, there are nearly inhabitants enough to fill it. But a large portion of it is vacant, and Zion mourns because no

We do not mean that the advancement of every people must be equally slow, for we are well aware that the principle of growth is quickened by the faintest ray of light that is shed upon it ; but we do mean that, under the most favorable circumstances, it must ever be the work of time.

The same principles are equally true of individuals as of communities ; and, though they are supported by facts that are constantly coming before our eyes, how much of the benevolent exertion of the present day proceeds upon the illusion that a virtuous character may be the work of a moment ; in other words, that an intellect, too feeble to discern its nearest relations to the world without it, may suddenly become the abode of light and intelligence, and animal propensities, that have known no restraint but the arm of the law, quietly give way to the supremacy of the higher sentiments, from no other cause than the dash of a pen, or the resolution of a moment. This is but one of the numerous illustrations we are constantly witnessing, of benevolent enterprises that are founded, more on the cheering encouragements of Hope, and that flattery by which Love of Approbation renders our labors so satisfactory to ourselves and to others, than on correct principles and a judgment that looks a little below the surface of human nature. It is so much easier to feel than to act, to scheme than to execute, that this superficial method of doing good is perfectly in accordance with our indolence, and for that reason of more popular repute than any other ; and so little indeed is its true nature suspected, that the

more come to her solemn feasts. But why are schools neglected and the house of God forsaken ? The want of disposition to these things is one grand reason. The people are slaves to their own brutal appetites. They had rather gratify them than listen to the voice of instruction, whether from the word of God or from the lips of men. They had rather spend the Sabbath in sleeping and eating, than under the droppings of the sanctuary ; — and a great part of those who enter the sanctuary had rather sleep or pass away the time in thinking of things of no profit, than in listening to the words of eternal truth. When the Sabbath is over, we sometimes make enquiry of some of the hearers as to their knowledge of the sermon. We find that the majority know just nothing at all. Not only are Sabbath schools neglected, but the soil, capable of producing almost every thing of the vegetable kind, is left an almost entire waste. Here and there a potatoe or taro patch may be seen. The rest is a useless wilderness."

slightest doubt of its efficiency is attributed to selfish motives and voted down by acclamation. Phrenology teaches, that there is no royal road to virtue any more than to learning, but that the iron dominion of the lower sentiments is gradually weakened and finally transferred to the nobler faculties, only after a long and persevering struggle, in which, perhaps, the issue of the contest has not always seemed most favorable to the better side ; that, if you would have a man abandon the indulgence of a favorite but ruinous sin, it is to be done by motives addressed to his higher powers, by bringing before his understanding the nature of his duties as a moral, intellectual, and social being, and pointing him to sources of happiness within himself, more satisfactory and enduring than those on which he now relies : not by taking advantage of a sudden and temporary burst of feeling, to extract a pledge of future amendment, and relying for his security on the force of example and the sympathy of a crowd. Many a man, we are afraid, is lost for ever by those miserable expedients, which it is so much the fashion at present to substitute for the only efficient means of reformation which aim at an entire change of feelings and views, who, under the influence of a moral system, might have been saved to the cause of virtue. The feeble barriers that were put up to restrain the tyranny of his appetites, he has seen utterly trampled under foot ; and, inferring that they have proved no stronger with others than with himself, he learns to set down every appearance of reformation to the score of hypocrisy, and laughs at the most rational efforts to rescue him from the sink of sensual indulgence. There is a quackery in benevolence as well as in physic, that beguiles its victims by assurances of easier and speedier cures, than the methods long established by ample experience and correct observation can work, and ruins them by the very measures which it takes to effect their restoration.

Phrenology teaches, that the only rational foundation of moral and religious instruction is a knowledge of the principles of our constitution, and its relations to the physical, organic, and moral laws of the universe. What can be more idle than to exhort men to the love and practice of virtue, who are ignorant of even the existence of the moral faculties, of their sphere of operation, and the manner in which they are excited to activity. That the requisitions of a pure morality are recognised in a Christian land, of course we do

not deny; but, when we compare the amount of practice with that of belief, how much of the latter must not be attributed to mere speculative assent? Multitudes imagine that they are acting under the influence of virtuous principles, while they are only obeying the suggestions of the selfish sentiments, and sincerely believing perhaps, that they are practising a pure morality. It is this passive virtue, which consists in abstaining from evil and doing as much good as is necessary to advance the selfish interests of the individual, which suggests itself to people's minds when listening to the voice of religious instruction, and is believed, innocently perhaps, to be all that even the spirit of Christianity requires. It is because Self-esteem, Love of Approbation, Adhesiveness, Acquisitiveness, &c., are the principal springs to action in the business of life; and their relations to the objects of their activity, being constantly presented to the attention, are so much more studied and understood, as to take the place of all other considerations. What men thus do for themselves in regard to these propensities, it is the duty of the public instructor to do for them, when bringing before them the highest faculties of their nature; and at least prevent the manifestations of the former from being mistaken for those of the latter.

Until this is done we may cease to wonder, that the sublimest lessons of the sublimest doctrine ever taught, are received with an apathy that shows they never reach the heart. To discourse of mercy, righteousness, and humility to those who are ignorant of the high meaning that Christianity gives to these terms, and then dignify the performance with the title of teaching, is an idle mockery that deceives them with the semblance of knowledge, but leaves them as far from its cheering influence as ever. The instructions of the pulpit, we are afraid, are not sufficiently practical to be of that essential service in the business of the world, which the truths they convey are designed to impart. The beauty of virtue may be set forth in terms that command admiration and respect, and the inexhaustible happiness which it supplies, be portrayed in the richest coloring that imagination can furnish; yet how often is it, after all, any thing more than a picture that delights the eye while it gazes on it, but excites in the soul few of those glowing emotions which press upon it the conviction of its immortal destinies. And

how can it be regarded otherwise than as something to be looked at, but not used, until some clear and definite notions are entertained of its nature and its relations to the common business of life. As it is, men are taught one thing in church and another out of it, and are too often obliged to unlearn in one place what they learned in another. One day in seven, they are exhorted to seek for imperishable riches, and fix their hopes on things above; the other six are spent in gratifying their innate love of acquisition, and deriving their happiness from sensual pleasures, and no one asks the cause of the strange incongruity. It is to be sought for, we imagine, not in any necessary contradiction between man's moral and worldly interests, between the requisitions of the purest morality and of the ordinary concerns and duties of life, for there is none; but in the ignorance of their relations to each other, which show the existence of a common and consistent object. What is wanted from the pulpit is plain, practical knowledge, not of the duties of life, for those are known already, but how they are to be performed, and so made to harmonize, that every thought and act shall conduce to the great end of living.

By *duties* we understand those actions and feelings to which we are prompted by the activity of our various faculties, when acting under the supremacy of the moral sentiments. The first lesson then to be taught, is the existence and functions of these faculties, their connexion with and influence upon one another, and their tendency, when properly exercised, to promote man's best happiness here and hereafter. It is of the utmost consequence that the great truth be impressed upon the mind, that, the animal, moral, and intellectual powers being all equally necessary to fulfill the ends of our being, the cultivation of neither class can be neglected without essentially deranging the whole economy of our nature; and the minister of religion can perform no better service, than to point out the proper objects on which they may be severally exercised, so plainly and fully that they may be comprehended by the simplest understanding. The great error in the kind of instruction to which we refer, is, that while it inculcates important truths even to satiety, the adaptation of these truths to any great ends, or, in plainer terms, how they work in the business of life, is as little understood by a great portion of mankind, as an

algebraic formula to one ignorant of the very signs of the science. When the storm of adversity sweeps by, carrying away the accumulated savings of a life, the unfortunate sufferer is told, that his happiness need not be curtailed by the event, and that he has sources of enjoyment within himself of a far more satisfactory kind than wealth can produce. What a mockery of his condition is such consolation to one who, perhaps, may believe what you say, but sees that there is a mystery about it beyond his ability to unravel. Those faculties of his nature which, if properly cultivated, would have furnished means of happiness independent of earthly vicissitudes, he is hardly aware that he possesses, much less, how important a part they were designed to perform, in the manifold relations of life. The question then comes back to us, whence arises this lamentable ignorance? At whose door does the blame lie? Whatever may be the extent of individual responsibility, the public instructor must show that he has done his duty, before he can be absolved from blame; and can he do this? We apprehend the answer must be far from an affirmative; and we want no better proof of the correctness of this opinion, than the want of interest and the tediousness so much complained of in the services of the Sabbath, and felt, we have reason to believe, by far more than dare acknowledge the fact, even to themselves. And why should it be so? Is it possible that the whole universe, with its endless manifestations of contrivance and exquisite harmony; that the constitution of man, with its various faculties nicely adapted to circumstances around it; that human society, with its institutions and members presenting every variety of complexity and perfection, — is it possible that all these can be spread out before him during six days in the week, and his attention arrested by nothing new in the adaptation of the universe, to excite the activity of the intellectual powers of such a creature as man, — by nothing new within the compass of his own person, to stimulate him to increased respect for the dignity of his nature, and increased love to its Author, — by nothing new in the busy world, to illustrate the practical influence of virtuous principle, to raise men to higher conceptions of the end of their being, and to multiply and strengthen the inducements to a rigid performance of duty, — wherewith he can furnish materials of instruction and interest on the seventh?

Another point, which we would press upon the notice of our readers, is the support which Phrenology affords to Christian morality, by demonstrating that its principles and spirit are founded in the nature of man. It is the distinguishing peculiarity in the system of Christian morals, that it insists upon the subordinate importance of the selfish interests to the interests of others. "Love thy neighbour as thyself," is one of those two commands, on which, says our Saviour, hang all the law and the Prophets. To most people, perhaps, no further argument will be necessary to prove, that a command from such a quarter would never have been uttered, unless there existed a corresponding ability to perform it; but for the school of Hobbes and Mandeville, we must find proofs of a very different character. Now, it is our opinion, and one founded on no hurried investigation of the subject, that in no other system of philosophy are these proofs so clear, numerous, and conclusive, as in Phrenology. While it shows the natural provisions for the interests of the individual self, it also shows, that the interests of the race have been equally taken care of, and demonstrates beyond doubt, that the happiness of man, whether considered in his private or social capacity, is best consulted when the higher powers have obtained unlimited control and supremacy over the lower. As we have already shown, the animal and intellectual powers are so constituted as to be incompatible with man's existence, without the co-operation of other powers to obviate their brutalizing tendency, and direct them to good ends. The whole history of our race confirms the fact, that the well-being of society, and consequently of the individual, has ever been in proportion to the degree of supremacy which the moral sentiments have obtained. In strict harmony with this arrangement, Christianity promulgates the law of universal love, — a law which is founded on no visionary state of perfectibility, but on the nature of man's capacities, and the objects that excite them to activity.

Phrenology, again, supports Christianity in its unequivocal recognition of the liberty of conscience, and in proclaiming charity and forbearance towards the errors and failings of our fellow men. The faculties varying to infinity, in their degree of strength and activity in different individuals, the results of their exercise must also present a similar diversity.

This being the law of their constitution, it must be respected for the same reason that we respect the natural laws ; and to think of producing uniformity of opinion by force or legislative enactments, would be no less absurd, than a similar project for altering the laws of organization or motion. No condition of the faculties can confer on their possessor the right of regulating the manner in which the faculties of another shall act ; for, though the moral sentiments may desire to promote the happiness of our fellows, yet this can be done only by furnishing them with new information, and producing a higher tone of emotion and feeling. As force cannot do this, we may unhesitatingly conclude, that it was never meant to be used for this purpose, and this would be a sufficient reason why no authority for its exercise can be found in the constitution of our nature. For the same reason that errors of opinion are sacred from the interposition of force to correct them, do they require the charity and indulgence of those who know the truth. Without wishing to abridge the moral responsibility of man, we presume that no one will disagree with us in the belief, that this same responsibility is bounded by certain limits, such as the character of the times, the age, education, and especially the natural powers of the individual, which exert a greater or less degree of influence on his thoughts, feelings, and actions. If the last cause alone be taken into the account in our estimate of character, we are constrained to the exercise of toleration and charity, as well in regard to speculative opinions as to habits and dispositions. Difference of opinion must *necessarily* follow difference of mind ; and whatever folly or mischief may be connected with certain notions, they are, nevertheless, when *sincerely* entertained, the effect, in some degree or other, of the peculiar constitution of the mind which holds them. Mankind are so much in the habit of obeying the language of the inferior sentiments, that every one's own mind becomes the standard of human nature in general, with which the thoughts and desires of every other are to be compared. Mr. Combe, in illustrating these views in his "Constitution of Man," strikingly observes, that, "in reading the Scriptures, one is convinced that they establish Calvinism ; another, possessing a different combination of faculties, discovers in them Lutheranism ; and a third is satisfied that Socinianism is the only true interpretation."

The golden rule of our Saviour, "to do unto others as we would have them do unto us," is one, no doubt, which enlightened self-interest would always dictate; but the question to be settled in this inquiry is, whence this light is derived. The intellect might perceive its beneficial tendency after a deliberate comparison of actions and consequences; but this process would be too tedious for the purposes of nature, which require a rule, in conformity with which actions should be performed spontaneously and immediately. The propensities and selfish sentiments desire only their own gratification; and, though they are pleased with whatever affords them the means of this gratification, there is nothing in their constitution that can induce them to forego the use of these means or extend them to others. It is therefore to the moral faculties of Phrenology alone, that we are to look for the origin of this rule, and the impulses which constrain us to obey it; for those principles of justice and that spirit of benevolence, that are as necessary to our social condition, as the power of locomotion to that of the individual, are provided for in no other portion of our nature. To bring forward every illustration of the support which Phrenology yields to the spirit and doctrines of Christian morality, would require a volume; but enough has been said, we trust, to convince every candid mind, that it is not entitled to quite all the abuse it has received at the hands of ignorance and bigotry.

It is our business next to inquire into the relations of Phrenology to the peculiar doctrines of religion, — the existence of the Deity and the immortality of the soul. The almost universal prevalence of a belief in the Deity, at all times and among all people, led Gall to believe, what he thought he had also established by observation, that this sentiment, like those of justice and benevolence, is the result of a distinct faculty. Though we are inclined to think with Spurzheim, that Gall has mistaken the essential function of this faculty, and that the idea of God is derived from the combined activity of this and the intellectual powers, yet the existence of this sentiment is perhaps an indirect proof of the existence of God.

Of the doctrine of a future existence, the strongest argument that metaphysicians have been able to offer, is the universal desire and longing after immortality in the human

breast. Thus stated, the objections to it are too strong to permit of its ever being received as conclusive ; for without farther light it might reasonably be doubted, whether the desire in question be any thing more than a modification of that love of life, which is equally shared with us by the brute. If, however, it can be shown, that this desire is one of the functions of a faculty that enters into the moral constitution, then is the doctrine of a future life placed on the same basis with physical truth, and the harmony of man's nature, as a moral, intellectual, and religious being, is admirably displayed. The organ of Hope, as it is represented by Phrenologists, not only inspires the other powers with expectation of success in the attainment of their objects, and pours upon every earthly prospect the beams of a bright and cheering light, but overleaps the narrow confines of the present life, inspiring the soul with an unquenchable thirst for immortality, and filling it with smiling visions of a blissful existence. In regard to the other faculties, their existence is alone sufficient proof of the existence of the objects by which their activity is excited. Philoprogenitiveness supposes the existence of offspring, which are the only legitimate objects by which it is gratified. Acquisitiveness, in the same manner, supposes the existence of property, in the attainment of which it may find its rightful exercise. Destructiveness is given, and the whole animal creation is offered for its gratification. Wonder and Ideality have but to look on the varied scenes of the natural world, and be filled with emotions of beauty and grandeur. The intellectual faculties exist, and the whole universe spreads before them its countless objects, to gratify their insatiable thirst after knowledge. Is there not equal ground for believing, that the futurity, which Hope so ardently desires, and which fills it with the most sublime and delightful emotions that man's nature is capable of feeling, is no idle vision, to be dissipated with the last breath of life, but a state of existence as definite and as certain as the present. The rudimental condition of the moral faculties, when compared with the degree of advancement to which they are destined to arrive, has been already adverted to ; and if, even then, we have reason to believe, that they will be but in the first stages of that progressive developement which, under more favorable circumstances, may still be continued, we are furnished

with an argument of extraordinary power to a philosophical mind.*

Here we must close our observations, already extended farther than we designed, with the hope that this attempt to expose the services which Phrenology has conferred on morals and religion, may excite in some of our readers sufficient respect for the science, to give it a personal and candid investigation. To those, however, who fear that their dignity would be lowered by even examining the pretensions of such an empirical philosophy, and are in the habit of regulating their opinions by the voice of authority, we would strongly recommend to them the following remarks of Dr. Conolly, the late distinguished Professor of Medicine in the London University, whose character as a faithful observer and profound thinker is well known to his medical brethren on both sides of the Atlantic. "The facts alluded to in the text, many of the phenomena of disease, and the observation of all mankind, seem to me to prove, that the first principles of Phrenology are founded in nature. On these, it is very probable, that many fancies and errors may have been built; but now, that anatomy and physiology have together penetrated so far into the separateness of structure and functions of the nerves, of the spinal marrow, and even of certain portions of the cerebral mass, I can see nothing which merits the praise of being philosophical, in the real or affected contempt professed by so many anatomists and physiologists for a science, which, however imperfect, has for its object the demonstration, that, for other functions, the existence of which none can deny, there are further

* The same view, a little differently stated, is strongly expressed in the following passage. "As in my mother's womb, that formatrix, which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but, as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which occur in this world, so I believe, since my coming into this world, the soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb; and these faculties are, Hope, Faith, Love, and Joy, since they never rest or fix on any transitory or perishable objects as this world, — as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect Eternal and Infinite." — [From the "Life of Lord Herbert" of Cherbury, quoted in Bulwer's "Conversations with an Ambitious Student," p. 23.]

separations and distinctions of hitherto unexplained portions of nervous matter." *

ART. VI. — *Sadoc and Miriam. A Jewish Tale.* From the Second London Edition. Boston. Published by James B. Dow. 1834. 16mo. pp. 142.

THE American publisher tells us in his "Advertisement"; "The following work is from the second London edition, published under the direction of the 'Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge'; which, *of itself*, is sufficient to recommend it to the attention of a Christian community." We are glad that the book has something else to depend upon besides its own merits, which certainly could not well be less, whether regard be had to the learning, judgment, or style to be expected in such a performance. "The chief object of the author," we are given to understand, "has been to exhibit the Evidences of Christianity, as they must have appeared to a Jew, in our Saviour's days." How clear and just his own conception of the "Jew in our Saviour's days" was, appears from the colloquy between Nathan, an old Pharisee, and his son, who had just avowed himself a convert to the new faith, beginning thus:

"'What, my dear boy,' said he, when this unwelcome news was imparted to him, 'what has induced you to take this hasty step? Whatever your opinions may be, I know that they are sincere; but I trust and hope that you have not by any rash action declared your sentiments in public. You have doubtless judged honestly on so important a point: I question not your intentions: you have ever lived the servant of the Most High, and punctually obeyed that precept which directs you to reverence your father, and I am sure that you would not communicate this change in your opinions, unless you were convinced that it was rightly made; for you well know how much pain it must give me: but sincerity of intention proves not that the judgment has been correctly guided;

* *Indications of Insanity*, p. 135.

and I must beg you not to expose yourself to the full wrath of the Sanhedrim, out of mere youthful haste.'

" 'I thank you,' replied *Sadoc*, 'for the kind opinion which you express concerning me. I well knew that the acknowledgment of my real sentiments would grieve you; but, surely, if I am convinced, I ought to follow that will which the Almighty has revealed unto me.' " — pp. 6, 7.

The writer informs us that he adopted the narrative form of presenting the argument, because it would enable him "to intermix a small portion of Jewish Antiquities," and to speak of Jewish customs and habits. Our readers shall have a specimen or two of his success in this line.

"*Miriam*. 'I have just returned from the chamber of Sarah, where I have been listening to her stories, and learning to make leaven.'

"*Sadoc*. 'I doubt not, then, that we shall enjoy the knowledge which you thus possess, in having much better bread. But pray let me know, too, how the process takes place; for I deem all knowledge useful, though I may never use it, or wish to use it. Pray how does Sarah make leaven?'

"*Miriam*. 'She makes it very much as others do, and as she has always done. She takes some old dough from the last baking, which has become sour by fermenting, and mixing it with the new, she causes the whole to ferment together. But what I learnt from it was this: that if, while it was fermenting, the dough be moved, the whole process will be stopped, and must begin afresh; and I thought that, as there seemed much ill-temper fermenting in your breast, I might take the leaven out, and let it wait till you were in a more fit temper to talk to my father.'

" 'Well said, little philosopher,' exclaimed *Nathan*, as he left the room. 'You shall be our baker, and we will try to be well made by so excellent a housewife. *Sadoc*, take care that you are not angry with her for so just a reproof.' " — pp. 12, 13.

We do not profess to understand all this any better than we do what *Nathan* and his children had for supper on another day, which, it seems, as to "the chief part," did not "consist" of those things of which it was "composed."

"The sun was setting when *Nathan* and his children had finished their evening meal, which was composed of fried eggs and cheese, though the chief part of it consisted of flour and water, mixed with butter and honey, and baked in an oven." — p. 20.

One extract more will suffice to give an idea of the style of this book, and of the spirit and dignity with which the dialogue is sustained, and of its perfect consistency and naturalness, considered as a dialogue between Jews "in our Saviour's days." The *dramatis personæ* are Rhoda, the wife of Darkon, both bigoted Pharisees, Hatipha, their daughter, and Gahar, a free-thinking Sadducee.

"*Rhoda*. 'Search for the truth? Why, what truth can there be in such a deceiver? I never wish to search for the truth against my conscience.'

"*Gahar*. 'Why, now, that is very candid; but is not your conscience guided by the truth? Supposing it to be the truth, you would at least grant that then you would like to be convinced of it.'

"*Rhoda*. 'I grant no such thing. I am so sure, that I do not wish to be convinced of any thing; and am certain that you will never convince me of any but one point, and that is, that you believe nothing. But do not let us quarrel. I know that I never shall be able to make you speak seriously on any topic, and will try to stop your mouth in another way. We have some excellent stewed lamb, dished up with lentils, such as I know you love better than any arguments about prophets, or questions on sacred subjects.'

"'There is a way,' said *Gahar*, smiling, 'to every man's heart, if people did but know it; and I must confess this, that if Pharisees know most fully the proper rules about fasting, their wives are acquainted with the surest methods of mortifying their appetites in another manner. If your arguments were as good as your cookery, I should certainly be a convert before many days were over. Do look how displeased Hatipha seems! why, my child, you will never make sweetmeats as well as your mother, if you let your pretty face assume so sour an aspect. What troubles you, dear?'

"*Hatipha*. 'I was thinking of something else than sweetmeats or stewed lamb, I assure you.'

"*Gahar*. 'Ay, thinking of a certain gentleman? Why there is no difficulty about that point, — is there?'

"'All things may as well not be spoken at all times,' said *Rhoda*; and Gahar began to solace his curiosity, by diving deeply into the dish of lamb, stewed in lentils, which was placed before him. Darkon and Gahar sat each on a mat placed on the ground, under the shade of a large tree which grew before the window; and the mess of Gahar, whether originally larger or smaller, was gradually becoming five times as small as his host's. 'My dear Hatipha,' said *Rhoda*, 'do bring

our hungry friend some of those cakes which were baked yesterday. The Passover has not begun yet; but unleavened bread is always good to mix with stews, and he may sop them to his heart's content in the gravy.' — pp. 78, 79.

Our readers, we suspect, have had their "heart's content" of this book, and will know hereafter how much confidence to put in the *imprimatur* of the "Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

ART. VII. — *Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society, Boston.* Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1833. 8vo. pp. 144.

AMIDST all the manifestations of sin and hardness of heart, amidst all the instances of vice and crime which are daily occurring around us, we thank God for such proofs as this Report affords us, that society is, on the whole, improving, and that objects of the deepest moment to humanity are now attended to with zeal and success, which formerly were altogether neglected. Who, in former times, ever thought of the physical comfort or moral improvement of imprisoned criminals, or dreamed of their restoration to society? It is only of late years that they have been treated better than beasts, wild beasts, or that they have been regarded as capable of virtue or religion, or that any thing like a regular system of discipline and instruction has been attempted in their favor. This Report encourages us to believe that the attention which has lately been paid to their condition, has not been paid in vain, and that the truly Christian efforts which have been made to enlighten and reclaim them have by no means been thrown away. We are told, and it is animating intelligence, that "recommitments are greatly diminished, and the *progress in crime* appears to be considerably checked;" and that "taking the country at large, crime not only does not increase as fast as the population, but there does not appear from the records of the criminal courts and prisons, to be any positive increase of crime."

Many facts and Remarks are presented in this Report, which we should be glad to set before our readers; but our limits oblige us to be content with a few gleanings.

The practice of having *morning and evening prayers in prison*, is said to owe its existence to the resident chaplains, and was introduced first at Auburn by the Rev. Mr. Curtis, who is now chaplain in the State Prison at Charlestown. The service is performed in the area in front of the cells, after the prisoners are locked up for the night. The probable effect of the service under these circumstances, is thus most touchingly suggested. "The voice of prayer, falling upon the ear of the prisoner in his solitary cell, was the last sound which was heard before the silence of the night; and it is difficult to conceive of any thing more calculated to reclaim the wanderer and lead him to repentance."

With regard to *favorable pecuniary results in prison*, it is stated that many of the reformed prisons more than pay their expenses, the profits in some of them being one, two, four, and even six thousand dollars. This is a consequence of the still more important *favorable moral results in prison*, which are such as must satisfy the expectations and rejoice the hearts of all the reasonable friends of the new system. Among other witnesses adduced, the Warden of the State Prison at Charlestown says, "Of the great number discharged within the last three or four years, it is believed that several have become thoroughly reformed;" and the chaplain of the prison at Auburn testifies, that "many who have been convicts in the prison are now good members of society. Great confidence," he adds, "is had in the radical reformation of seventy-five to one hundred now in prison."

The practice of *Imprisonment for Debt*, and the laws which permit it, meet with strong reprobation in this Report. It is declared to be generally unproductive except to the lawyers, and degrading to all concerned. Our own state, with three others, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in their legislation on this subject are behind all the other states.* Nine tenths of public sentiment are represented as opposed to imprisonment for debt, as practised in those states, while nine tenths of the lawyers and rum-dealers

* Our own state has lately freed itself from this reproach, and left it to be shared by the three other states named.

are opposed to any change. And in concluding the topic of *Causes of crime*, the Report has this remarkable sentence ; " Bad Poor-Houses and bad Prisons are perfect nurseries of crime ; and imprisonment for debt commits thousands, for a mere trifle, to bad Prisons." This sentence deserves to be pondered.

We will further present our readers with what this Report says on frequent militia trainings, as a cause of crime. We doubt not its truth.

" There is a custom in society of gathering people together several times a year, to the neglect of all useful labor, to shoulder their muskets, and carry their knapsacks, and put on their uniform dress, and march the streets to the music of the drum and fife ; and, in consequence of such military trainings, hundreds and thousands of young people collect and mingle in the same mass with vagabonds and drunkards, and drink and carouse, and get drunk, and fight ; and the cases are not a few, within our knowledge, in which the Prisons have come in for a large share of the spoil on these important occasions. It is delightful, therefore, to see that public opinion in all the Northern and Middle States, is demanding a great curtailment in frequency and parade of military trainings. Let this noble march of opinion go on, and one of the causes of crime will be diminished, and the harvest season for Prisons will not be about the time of military trainings." — p. 108.

The *Report of the French Commissioners*, Messrs. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville, forming a volume of 440 pages, published by them on their arrival in France, is noticed and eulogized. These gentlemen are greatly in favor of the American Penitentiary System, and recommend introducing it in France. Their description of it, in a few words is copied in the Report, and deserves the praise which is there given it. It is as follows ;

" The Penitentiary system presents itself to us with all the advantages of an extreme simplicity. It is thought that two depraved beings, united, will mutually corrupt each other ; they are separated : the voice of their passions, or the tumult of the world, has bewildered and led them astray ; they are isolated, and thus led to reflection : intercourse with the wicked had perverted them ; they are condemned to silence : idleness had depraved them ; they are made to labor : want had led them to crime ; they are taught a profession : they have violated the

laws of their country ; they endure the punishment of this violation : their lives are protected, their bodies are kept sound and healthy ; but their moral suffering is unequalled. They are miserable ; they deserve to be so. Reformed, they will be happy in the society whose laws they will respect. This is the whole of the American Penitentiary System." — p. 114.

ART. VIII. — *Last Thoughts on Important Subjects, in Three Parts. I. Man's Liability to Sin. II. Supplemental Illustrations. III. Man's Capacity to obey.*
By NOAH WORCESTER, D. D. Cambridge: Brown, Shattuck, & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. 323.

ONE of our author's "supplemental illustrations," as he terms them, was first published in this Journal, under the title of a "Review of a Modern Substitute for a Supposed Sinful Nature, as exhibited and recommended in Professor Stuart's 'Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.' " * That article presents a fair, and no more than a fair specimen of the spirit, style, and logical acumen, in which the whole work is conceived and executed. It is the rare merit of the writer's mind, that, though always moving onward in his investigations, he moves so cautiously, and with such reverence for the truth, and such distrust of himself, that his "*Last Thoughts*" on every subject are invariably his *best*. A remarkable circumstance is also mentioned in connexion with the history of the papers contained in this volume, which we must give in the author's own words.

"Though prior to engaging in the ministry I had discarded the doctrine that Adam's posterity 'sinned in him and fell with him,' and also the doctrine of imputation, I still retained the Hopkinsian idea of an 'established connexion' between the sin of Adam and the first moral exercises of his posterity. My views at that period were very similar to those more recently published by Dr. Taylor and his New Haven associates. Subsequent inquiries, however, had in some respects modified my views of the consequences of Adam's sin, before I wrote the work on the Atoning Sacrifice. On inquiry I could find

* Christian Examiner, Vol. XIV. pp. 219 - 240.

no proof of the supposed 'established connexion.' But the universal liability of mankind to sin was too obvious to be questioned; and how to account for this but by the displeasure of God, was still to me an insurmountable difficulty. With this difficulty on my mind I commenced a series of inquiries relating to the *sources* of human depravity, and the importance of Christian education. Month after month I examined the Scriptures, and wrote on different questions. On several points I obtained much satisfaction. Still, however, the question occurred, 'How could it be consistent with divine goodness that all the posterity of Adam should be subjected to such a state of liability to sin as is witnessed in every quarter of the world?'

"With this question I was embarrassed till early in June, 1830. Then, while intensely pursuing the inquiry, with ardent desires for light, the following questions occurred with the suddenness of lightning: 'Does not liability to sin result from the kindness of God, — the numerous favors which he bestows upon us, and not from his displeasure? And on due inquiry will not this be found to be the fact, as the Atoning Sacrifice was found to be a "display of love, and not of wrath?"'

"These questions occurred in such a manner, and with what appeared to me such a divine light, that I could not but regard them as the suggestions of the Divine Spirit, — the Comforter which was promised by Christ to *teach us all things*. I had little time for reflection before a new, spacious, and delightful field of contemplation and inquiry was opened to my view, which I have endeavoured to portray in the following chapters. Immediately I took my pen to sketch the thoughts which had occurred, that nothing might be lost; and I wrote with such freedom and delight as I had seldom before experienced. I seemed to myself to have entered a new world of thought and reflection. At every advancing step, the character of God, like the path of the just, seemed to shine brighter and brighter; and the guilt and inexcusableness of sin was more and more manifest." — pp. 5 – 7.

We are far from thinking it to be either unreasonable or unscriptural to believe, that, in ways which we cannot explain, a ray from the source of all light sometimes falls *directly* on the understanding of the humble and devout inquirer. At any rate, whether our minds are illuminated directly or indirectly, it becomes us to recognise the divine agency therein, and to welcome and receive every important discovery of truth which we make, as the gift of God. And when it comes upon us suddenly, and is perceived at once

and intuitively to be true, and serves, moreover, by simple and easy applications, to clear up all our difficulties, and introduce us into a new world of thought and reflection, who can refrain from regarding it as of the nature, and as coming with something of the authority, of a suggestion of the Divine Spirit. It is hardly possible for an unprejudiced person, attentively to peruse what Dr. Worcester has written on "man's liability to sin," and his "capacity to obey," without being convinced that no view of the popular doctrine of Original Sin can be reconciled with Scripture, or with the character of our heavenly Father, or with the acknowledged facts of history and consciousness. Still as our author has not considered the last mentioned topic so much at length as might perhaps be wished, and as there are those who talk about facts as being stubborn things, and insist that the facts of history and consciousness testify against the doctrine advanced in this work, it may be well to examine a little more particularly some of the objections originating in this quarter.

How, it may be asked, except on the theory which makes human nature itself to be universally and totally corrupt, can we account for the universality of sin? That every man, as he grows up, and passes through life, commits more or less sin, is not, we suppose, disputed. We do not say that all, or that most of his actions are sinful, but that some of them are so; and of course that every man is, to a certain extent, a sinner. But what then? A man's single bad actions will no more prove his *nature* to be corrupt and depraved, than his single good actions will prove his nature to be upright and holy. Suppose man's moral nature to be in exact equilibrium, that is, to have no tendencies *of itself* either to virtue or vice; and suppose him to be placed with this nature, in a world like the present, only one half of the influences of which, we will assume, are likely to incline him to good, and the other half to evil. On this supposition would it not be reasonable to expect,—not, as some have fallaciously argued, that society would be composed of a mixture of individuals, part of whom would be sinful, and part sinless,—but that the character of every individual, without exception, would be composed of a mixture of dispositions and habits, part of which would be sinful and part sinless? Taking the supposition as stated above, and

reasoning, we say, merely on the doctrine of chances, should we not expect, that every character, without exception, would be what we actually find it to be, a *mixed* character, and of course to a certain extent sinful? There is nothing, therefore, in the universality of sin, or in the fact, that all men are in various degrees sinners, which requires us to presume or suspect, that our very nature is afflicted with an hereditary or essential taint. It is enough that we know and admit man's frailty, and the temptations by which he is encompassed and beset. These are such, by universal consent, as to make it morally impossible in the present condition of humanity, that any individual should grow up and pass through life without making a single misstep, without committing a single offence; and the commission of a single offence makes a man to a certain extent a sinner.

But how, it may be asked again, on the supposition that mankind are made upright, can we account for the fact, that very young children often become addicted to sin, and are, perhaps, peculiarly liable to some sins? It would be answer enough simply to observe, that if men are liable to sin in any period of life from weakness and ignorance, it certainly is not very wonderful that they should be liable to it in childhood, when they are weakest and most ignorant. Add to this the obvious and important fact, that the several parts of our nature are generally developed, not at once and together, but gradually and in succession, — the appetites and passions before the reason and conscience. Can we wonder, then, that children, with many of their appetites and passions in full strength and activity, and these not as yet balanced and checked by an equal developement of the reason and conscience, should run into frequent and hurtful excesses, and require a constant curb? Besides, much of the misconduct of children, which is ascribed by superficial observers to cruelty, malice, or the love of mischief, originates in fact in a love of excitement merely. Consider, finally, that in regard to many of the vices, to which children are peculiarly prone, — theft and lying for example, — more reflection and experience are required to understand their full enormity, than are ordinarily to be expected in the very young, at least in the present state of society and moral education.

We shall be referred, perhaps, in the next place, to the

character and condition of savages, as being "in a state of nature," and evincing, therefore, what our nature is, when left to itself. We deny, however, that savages are in a state of nature, in the proper acceptation of that term, any more than the most civilized and polished nations. They are just as much the creatures of education, such as it is, as if they had been brought up in a court, or had studied at a university. They are trained, it is true, for different pursuits, and by different means, and the result, of course, is different, and widely different; but still they are trained, — nay, are obliged to submit to a long and severe training. They are trained to hunting, and war, and stratagem; to traverse forests by the aid of marks and other indications, which, to an unpractised eye, are imperceptible, or mean nothing; to follow up the trail of an enemy with a sagacity, which it is hardly possible, even with an equal degree of sagacity, to baffle or elude, and to bear fatigue, privation, and every kind of physical suffering with singular constancy, and, if need be, under the mask of an imperturbable apathy. This is the education of the savage, — as really an education, and for the most part as artificial an education, as that which he would receive, if waited on every day by his reading-master, his writing-master, his music-master, and his dancing-master. This education, it is true, is not so scientific and complete as that which he would probably have received in a civilized community; and the consequence is, that his nature is not developed so equally nor so perfectly. Some of his faculties, — the keenness of his sight, the quickness of his hearing, and his cunning, for example, — are excited and developed to a wonderful degree; but meanwhile the gentler and more refined properties of the soul, and his moral and religious qualities generally, are kept entirely back, or chilled and dwarfed by uncongenial circumstances. It is a great mistake, therefore, to suppose that savages are in a state of nature, if by their being in a state of nature it is meant, that they are without education. They are educated, as truly as we are, but in such a way, and under such circumstances, and so imperfectly, that their actual attainments, instead of exhibiting a peculiarly fair, must exhibit a defective and distorted, and therefore a peculiarly unfair view of man's natural and moral capabilities.

Besides, what do people mean, when they talk about

judging human nature by what it is capable of doing and becoming, "when left to itself"? Strictly speaking, human nature, if left to itself, is incapable of doing or becoming any thing. Whatever a man does or becomes, either in savage or civilized life, he does or becomes, not through his nature left to itself, but through his nature, excited and developed by the circumstances in which he is placed, and the discipline to which he is subjected. Man is nothing, absolutely nothing, independently of the influences by which his nature is excited and developed; and what are these influences but his training, his education. Suppose a man to grow up from childhood on a desolate island, without any intercourse whatever with the rest of the world, or any knowledge of its existence; — even *he* would be nothing independently of his education. For want of other instruction, the heavens and the earth become his teachers; his own wants, the dumb animals, the succession of the seasons, the springing vegetation, the flying cloud, every thing he sees, or hears, or feels, or remembers, — all are his teachers; and he does and becomes but what he is taught. The question, therefore, is not, whether in order to form an estimate of a man's nature he should be educated, or not educated; but whether he should be educated well or ill, perfectly or imperfectly. The question is not, whether a man's nature shall be excited and developed at all by his education and circumstances, but whether it shall be excited and developed partially and disproportionately, or equally and entirely. Taking this view of the subject, is it not self-evident, that to judge a man's nature by his actual attainments, we must find a man whose whole nature has been developed; not his animal nature alone, nor his animal and intellectual nature exclusively, but his animal, intellectual, and moral nature, and these, too, in their just order and proportion; — in other words, we must find a man whose education is perfect.

Still in minds unaccustomed to these investigations a vague impression may linger, that a man's attainments, in such cases, are owing, not to his nature, but to his training. Is it so? When you take an acorn, and plant it in the earth, and it grows up and becomes a tree, do you suppose, that the qualities, which the acorn develops under these circumstances, were not original and inherent in the acorn?

Cultivation does not give the plant its qualities, but only assists in placing it in its appropriate circumstances, — in those circumstances in which its inherent qualities will be developed to the best advantage. Now what cultivation is to the plant, education and civilization are to man. They do not give him his qualities, but only assist in placing him in his appropriate circumstances, — in those circumstances in which his inherent qualities will be developed to the best advantage. As therefore the cultivation must be perfect, before we can know and appreciate, as highly as they deserve, the inherent qualities of a plant, so likewise, and for the same reason, the education and civilization must be perfect, before we can know and appreciate, as highly as they deserve, the inherent qualities of human nature.

Here we find the true reason, and the only reason, why the facts of history and observation speak so discouragingly on this subject. It is because the world, even in this boasted age of light and refinement, is still but half educated, and half civilized. There may be no error in calling this age an educated and civilized age in comparison with others; or in calling this community an educated and civilized community in comparison with others. But when we come to speak strictly and absolutely, and to compare what we are with what we are capable of becoming, a little reflexion will constrain us to confess, that we are still but half educated and half civilized. Education, properly so called, does not consist in the excitement and cultivation of the intellect merely, but of the whole man, for the purpose of establishing and preserving the requisite balance, harmony, and perfection of character. Understanding the term in this sense is it not obvious, not only that we are but half educated, but that, with the prevalent systems of instruction and discipline, it can hardly be otherwise? Civilization, too, does not consist in the observance of the rules of an artificial politeness, nor in contriving to maintain a pleasing exterior in general society, but in the subjection of every thing that is coarse and violent in our passions, and in the refinement and elevation of every thing that is low and vulgar in our tastes, propensities, and habits. Understanding the term in this sense, who will pretend that there is any extravagance in saying, even of the most polished and cultivated communities at the present day, that they

are but half civilized? Is it not, therefore, manifest injustice to our nature, and ingratitude to its Author, to think to estimate its natural and moral capabilities by the results of an experiment which is yet but in progress?

According to the safest and best computation, the human race is as yet but about six thousand years old, which to a race is, as it were, but its infancy. If you would judge human nature by the facts of history and observation, if you would judge what man can do by what he has done, wait until, as a race, he has come to maturity, — wait until, as a race, he is educated and civilized, not partially and imperfectly, but equally and entirely. It is an idle and groundless assumption that the human race has come to a period in its means of intellectual and moral progress. Look at the changes which are now taking place in civil government and political economy; look at changes which are going on in consequence of the diffusion of useful knowledge, and improvements in the methods of discipline and instruction; look at the changes which public opinion has undergone and is still undergoing on the subjects of war, domestic slavery, temperance, and public amusements; look at the great philanthropic enterprises of the day. These are all indications that the *progress* of education and civilization, properly understood, was never more rapid, even in the most cultivated and polished communities, than at this moment. You might, therefore, as well plant yourself amidst a group of naked, painted, half famished cannibals of New Zealand, and say that what you behold around you there is a fair specimen of what human nature can do, as take your stand in the streets of London or Paris, and say that what you behold around you there is a fair specimen of what human nature can do. Human nature can do more, immeasurably more, — better, immeasurably better.

Here, too, we may remark in conclusion, we see why it is that Christianity is absolutely indispensable; not indeed as a means of changing our nature, but as a means of developing its deeper and finer and more spiritual properties and affections. Our moral and religious capacities and sensibilities are as essential a part of our nature, as our sensual, or selfish, or social; but they are not so likely to be developed and fostered by the influences to which we are subjected in this life. The ordinary business of the

world brings into action some of our powers and affections, but they are, for the most part, our inferior powers and affections. Reason and conscience can do something; nay can do much, even without the aid of revelation; as is proved by the moral and religious eminence attained by several of the heathen sages. But it is plain that, with the aid of revelation, reason and conscience can do more, incalculably more. Let it be understood, then, that a revelation is not given because human nature, in itself considered, is essentially depraved or defective. The purpose and necessity of the gospel is, we repeat, not to create, but to develope what is spiritual and divine in man. It is part, and a necessary part, of the means, which the Almighty has provided for carrying forward and perfecting the education of the human race. The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, as the gospel is to lead us unto God.

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

Journal of a Residence in Scotland, and Tour through England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, with the Memoir of the Author, and Extracts from his Religious Papers. Compiled from the Manuscripts of the late HENRY B. McLELLAN. By I. McLELLAN, JR. Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1834. 12mo. pp. 377. — The fact that this Journal was compiled from manuscripts hastily written, and left in a loose and imperfect state by the author, makes it perhaps to be hardly a fit subject of criticism. We cannot bring ourselves to believe for one moment, that if the author had lived, he would have consented to the publication of many parts of it under any form. How could the editor reconcile with his sense of propriety the inserting of such minute and circumstantial descriptions of the dress, manners and personal appearance, not only of the eminent men to whom the young traveller was introduced, but of their wives and daughters, and of their style of living, and of the demeanor of their guests? Many private conversations are also given, — a freedom which we should be more inclined to excuse, if the conversations themselves had been for any reason worth repeating; but, as it is, they can hardly have any other effect, especially when considered in connexion with the extravagant eulogium bestowed on the speakers, than to provoke a smile.

"Monday. Dined with Dr. Chalmers. It was St. Patrick's day, and his own birth-day. The company was therefore mainly composed of Irish students, at least at dinner. The table was well spread, no spirit was introduced, and but little wine used. There was a 'Scotch haggis' on the table, which was a subject for much merriment. It was partly concealed in a napkin; 'too much swaddled,' as the Doctor observed; he wished to see it in 'its native beauty, its sonsie face unhid'; he then quoted Burns's song to this 'Prince of the Pudding race.' In the evening several gentlemen and ladies came in. Some of the gentlemen were called upon for Irish songs; they certainly appeared rather ill-timed and singular, as coming from theological students. Indeed, after one, there was an awful pause, and the better part of the theological students certainly looked very ill at ease. A gentleman beside me remarked, 'Don't you think those are very strange songs?' 'Very singular taste,' said I. 'Quite a mixture of the mirth and savageness of the people, it strikes me.' Had some conversation on Foster. 'Do you not think, Sir,' I said, 'that his style combines much that is philosophically accurate, with not a little of mystical grandeur?' 'Yes, quite so,' replied the Doctor; 'the excellence of the first, belongs to the finish of his mind; the fault, if it be so, of the other, to the deficiency of our language.'" — p. 349.

Twenty other passages like this might be given almost at random, but they are too long for our purpose; particularly the description of another dinner at Dr. Chalmers', pp. 215–217, and of a supper party at Professor Wilson's, pp. 353–356. Such things were well enough in a private journal, and would do in a very private letter; and we are confident that the writer, with his delicate sense of propriety, never dreamed of their going any further, and they ought not to have gone any further. Some of the young tourist's sketches of streets and cities and natural scenery are vivid and graphic, and most of his remarks on foreign manners and institutions, if not very discriminating and profound, are yet liberal and conciliatory. On the whole, however, the most agreeable impression which the perusal of this volume has left on our minds, respects the character, general deportment, and unaffected piety of the young tourist himself, whose early death must, we are aware, and especially to his family and particular friends, impart a melancholy interest to every thing which proceeded from his pen.

Principles of General Grammar, adapted to the Capacity of Youth, and proper to serve as an Introduction to the Study of Languages. By A. J. SYLVESTRE DE SACY, Member of the Royal Council for Public Instruction, the French Royal Institute, &c. &c. &c. Translated by D. FOSDICK, JUN. Theol. Sem. Andover. First American, from the Fifth French

Edition. Andover : Flagg, Gould, & Newman. 1834. 12mo. pp. 156. — We are indebted to the Andover press for translations of many valuable foreign works in criticism and general philology, executed, like the one before us, with taste and spirit. Though abounding in books of education, we had no good treatise on the principles of general grammar, until this appeared ; and we do not know how the defect could have been better supplied than by giving Baron de Sacy's little work, as Mr. Fosdick has done, not only in an English dress, but accommodated in its illustrations and general bearings to an English student. Still we do not think that it will be used in this country "as an *introduction* to the study of languages." Particular grammars are general enough for this purpose, and these are resorted to in the first instance, not so much for grammatical "principles," as to become acquainted with the peculiar inflexions and modifications of the language in question. But after the student has made some progress in "the study of the languages," and wishes and needs to generalize and simplify the knowledge he has acquired, and to begin to understand language philosophically, at least so far as its grammatical principles are concerned, De Sacy's treatise may be introduced to great advantage. In this view, and for this purpose, we doubt not that it will soon be adopted as a manual in our best classical schools.

A Sermon, preached at the Funeral of the Rev. ELIPHALET PORTER, D. D., late Senior Pastor of the First Church in Roxbury, December 11, 1833. By GEORGE PUTMAN, Surviving Pastor of that Church. Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Co. 1834. 8vo. pp. 18. — Seldom have we heard or read a better deserved, or a more just and discriminating eulogium, than that contained in this discourse. Dr. Porter, the subject of it, was born June 11, 1758, his father being a respected and venerable clergyman in North Bridgewater. He graduated at Harvard College in 1777, prepared for the ministry under his father, and was settled over the First Church in Roxbury, October 2, 1782. In October, 1801, he married Martha Ruggles, (daughter of Nathaniel Ruggles, Esq. of the same place,) who died, leaving him without children, December, 1814. His own death took place December 7, 1833.

His character cannot be given in better words than those of his colleague.

"In those stations of trust to which the wise and good are called, few men in the community have taken a more active part, or been more efficient and useful than Dr. Porter. In large institutions for objects of charity, and for the promotion of education and religion, his

counsels and services have been much in request for arduous and responsible offices. These, there are many to bear him witness, he has faithfully and honorably discharged. They are services which the public can hardly appreciate, but he was eminently fitted for them, and he was willing thus to labor, quietly and unambitiously, to be useful in his generation. As a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard University, to which Board he was elected in 1818, he is understood to have occupied his responsible post with great fidelity and wisdom, and with respect and influence among his distinguished colleagues.

"Among his brethren in the ministry, with whom your late Pastor was associated, I may say it in their presence, he has been the Patriarch and the Sage. He has been regarded with profound respect and veneration. His counsels have been listened to with unwonted confidence. His memory will be long cherished with sentiments of reverence and affection.

"In the latter part of his life, Dr. Porter was called, in the Providence of God, to be more concerned in secular affairs and dealings than suited either his habits or his tastes. These affairs were a trial and a trouble to him. But they involved a duty, and he was faithful to that duty. In these things he has ever shown himself the man of firm and unsuspected integrity. He displayed in them the same cautiousness and sagacity, which he displayed in every thing else, and which were prominent traits of his character. He was watchful of his rights, and firmly maintained them when he thought them in jeopardy. Yet he was truly and thoroughly a liberal-minded man. Some generous benefactions bear witness to this remark, and other larger ones were in contemplation, whose accomplishment death has prevented. Hospitality reigned in his house. 'He was frugal without parsimony and generous without profusion.' He was truly liberal to the poor. Many such leaned upon him for succour. He waited but to know that his alms were deserved and would do good, and they were bestowed as freely as upon his own wants. I know not the living man, of whom I have so good means of knowing, and of whom I feel a more assured confidence that avarice is a passion that did not have possession of his bosom, that did not narrow his soul a hair's breadth or chill a drop of his heart's blood.

"Indeed, his was a mind that seemed never to have been swayed or misled by any passion. Never was man farther from being the creature of passion; and this great circumstance, in connexion with his clear and far-sighted understanding, is that which, while it precluded all brilliancy of mind, stamped him for a man of uncommon prudence and wisdom, and unexceptionable purity and probity of character, and made his life a most uniform and tranquil one. He moved among his people an exemplar of correct deportment and of Christian virtue. Had he a single enemy in the world, that enemy might almost be challenged to adduce one instance of moral or social wrong, or even of imprudence or folly. Never had enemy less power to do harm to a character. He was a friend to the whole family of man, and no degree of sin or folly could place a fellow creature beyond the bounds of his charity and benevolent regards. He was a willing and faithful counsellor to all who sought his counsel, and to all with whom he felt sufficiently intimate to authorize his offering it. And his was

advice which it seemed always safe to follow, and which it was seldom well to disregard. Even men near him in age were fain to receive it and be guided by it. If he stood not high among the *praised*, he was certainly preëminent among the *trusted*. He was not of a temperament to conciliate an ardent and general attachment, but those who enjoyed a near intimacy with him could not but feel their respect for his worth and goodness heighten into affection. At the same time, his unvaried urbanity, and tender and careful regard to the feelings of all with whom he had to do, secured the favorable opinion of all.

"I have already glanced at the characteristics of the Christian faith of our departed friend. Those who are so blind to the original diversities of human nature, as to recognise a Christian spirit only in the vivid emotions of an ardent soul and the coruscations of a fervent imagination, would probably think lightly of his piety. But he was in truth and soberness a sincerely devout man, one who feared God, and loved his moral image manifested in the Saviour, and kept his commandments sacredly as the apple of his eye." — pp. 10 – 12.

We lay down this affectionate tribute of respect to an aged and venerable servant of God, deeply impressed with a feeling of the loss which the community and his brethren in the ministry have sustained in his death. As a preacher he was not sought after, and his publications were neither numerous nor considerable (consisting of eleven occasional discourses); but his character had great weight, his presence was always welcome, and his word was always "a word in season," and "fitly spoken." It will probably be long before we shall again look on so much caution united to so much courage, so much moderation united to so much independence, so much of the calm and collected wisdom of age united to so much readiness to hear, and so much candor in weighing, the suggestions of younger men.

Two Discourses delivered before the First Parish in Cambridge; One, upon Leaving the Old Meeting-House, and the Other, at the Dedication of the New. By WILLIAM NEWELL, Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge. Printed by Request of the Society. Cambridge: James Munroe & Company. 1834. 8vo. pp. 56. — In the first discourse Mr. Newell gives us a brief but highly interesting account of the First Parish in Cambridge from its institution in 1633. Of "the old meeting-house," in which he delivered it, and which has since been taken down, he says:

"Six of the sixteen Presidents of our University have been inaugurated in this place; and the oldest living graduate, the Hon. Paine Wingate of Stratham, New Hampshire, who stands on the Catalogue a lonely survivor amidst the starred names of the dead, took his degree within these walls. There are some other reminiscences com-

nected with it, which give it an added interest and distinction. It was here that our beloved Washington, during his encampment at Cambridge in 1775, worshipped God in the Sabbath assembly, and with his brother-patriots in arms acknowledged his dependence on the Lord of Hosts with that piety which marked the character of our ancestors, and was ever conspicuous in that of the Father of our country. It was here that Lafayette, the surviving apostle of freedom, on his triumphal visit to our land, was so eloquently welcomed. It was in this house also that in 1779 a State Convention, composed of delegates from the several towns of the Commonwealth, framed the Constitution of Massachusetts. This house then carries back our thoughts to many events and scenes of a political and academical as well as religious interest. There is, probably, no one now standing, in which so many of the distinguished men of New England, if not of the whole country, have, at one time or another, on the Sabbath or on other occasions, been present. Its antiquated construction and even some of its discomforts have their interest to the eyes of many, as they are associated with recollections of former days, or of the times of their youth. It is one of the simple but substantial structures, of which there are a few still remaining here and there, in defiance of time, the unclassical specimens of our homely New England church architecture of the past century; and, in their durability and plainness, both the monuments and the emblems of the generation by which they were erected."—pp. 22, 23.

We bear witness to the many interesting reminiscences and associations connected with the old building. Still it is matter of congratulation to the Society that its place has been supplied by a church every way more commodious, and better situated, besides being one of the most pleasing specimens of architecture in the vicinity. It is also matter of still more public congratulation that the University is at length provided with a suitable and convenient place for its Commencement and other great academical celebrations. Mr. Newell, in his sermon at the opening of the new house, December 12, 1833, states the purposes to which it is dedicated, and in doing so gives a judicious and well written defence of Liberal Christianity; from which it would give us great pleasure to copy several paragraphs, but our limits forbid.

The worthy Student of Harvard College. A Sermon preached in the Chapel of that Institution on Lord's-Day Afternoon, March 23, 1834. By JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M., Professor of Biblical Literature. Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1834. Svo. pp. 29.—This discourse, so serious and pertinent, and rendered doubly impressive by the melancholy events with which it was connected, must have been listened to with great interest and advantage by the young gentlemen to whom it was especially adapted and addressed. In speaking of the

repugnance which a "worthy student of Harvard College" will manifest for every form of sensual dissipation and excess, the preacher passes a high, and we believe perfectly well deserved encomium on the present moral state of that institution.

"Without, I trust, going out of my way," he says, "to form or express an opinion, yet having had some opportunity of acquaintance with similar institutions at home and abroad, and been pretty well acquainted with this for nearly a quarter of a century, I am ready, for one, in all times and places, to make and stand by the assertion, as far as such opportunities may justify it, — and that, as being within the limits of truth, — that this institution, in the respect in question, has reason to fear comparison with no other, nor with itself at any previous date within the same term of years. Reasoning back from apparent results, one might even suppose that to keep its character free from any stain of this sort, had grown up, among those who give a tone to its sentiments and practices, into something like a point of honor." — pp. 5, 6.

The melancholy events to which allusion has been made, and which appear to have suggested the subject of this discourse, were the death of Mr. Frederic William Hoffman, son of David Hoffman, Esq. of Baltimore, who died at Lyons, in France, December 9, and that of Mr. William Chapman, son of the late Jonathan Chapman, Esq. of Boston, who died at sea on his passage to the Cape of Good Hope, September 24, of the last year; the former a member of the Junior Class, the latter of the Sophomore. An extract is given in the Appendix from a funeral sermon by Professor Palfrey, preached in the College Chapel on the Sunday after intelligence of Mr. Chapman's death had been received, from which we give a very touching and edifying description of his last moments.

"Eulogy is not my office; but, having been led thus far, and having had opportunity to know how happily a life, so worthily begun, was closed, I venture to suppose that, in the absence of any more convenient channel for obtaining the information, his associates may be willing to receive from me some statements, relating to the termination of our young friend's history. If they affect other minds as they have affected mine, I shall look for no other reason for entering into such a detail. He left his home, in the vain hope of reestablishing his health under the influence of a milder climate, about the middle of last August. In the accounts which his friends yesterday received, nothing is said of the first two weeks after his departure, except that his strength and spirits had revived in them to that degree, that he was observed to decline, as scarcely any longer an invalid, the little attentions which every one around him was prompt to offer. From this time, the weather of a warmer latitude manifestly increased his debility, and he was perceived to have abandoned all confident expectation of recovery; though, till the twenty-second day of September, he

continued daily to take the air upon the ship's deck. On the twenty-fourth, after being not materially more feeble than usual through the early part of the day, he was affected in the afternoon with a faintness, on recovering from which he calmly said, 'I perceive my time has come to leave you.' He then closed his hands, — I use mostly the words of the record of the commander of the vessel, the graphic and touching simplicity of which is the best possible evidence of its exactness, — and his eyes directed upward, prayed audibly to his Heavenly Father for forgiveness of all past offences, and commended his spirit to the mercy of God through Christ. He then said, 'Now I am prepared to go,' and composed himself apparently as for his last struggle. But after a silence of three or four minutes, his eyes closed, and evidently in prayer, he used expressions of which the following are preserved. 'I am spared a little longer ;' — 'I have endeavoured to make preparation for this event ;' — 'I have endeavoured to prepare myself for God's will ;' — 'I die in the faith and hope of the Gospel.' After describing him as again lying quietly, his lips in motion, and his eyes closed for a time in inaudible prayer, the account goes on with a detail of kind messages sent to his friends at home, accompanied with mementos of his regard to them and those around him, — among others of his Bible to his mother ; (Oh ! how often does the filial heart find room to blend the memory of God's love and a mother's love together, in its last throb of gratitude !) Resuming his former quiet position for some minutes, he gathered his little remaining strength, and addressing two fellow-passengers, whom he begged to excuse him for what might seem unbecoming freedom in a younger person, urged them to secure their hope and joy, in what, under such circumstances as they were witnessing, made his. 'Later in the afternoon,' the writer goes on, 'though I began to hope he might yet remain some days, he again spoke, after resting awhile, of his approaching end. I said to him, I hoped he might pass a comfortable night. He shook his head, and raising his hand, pointing upward with his finger, answered only 'To-night,' repeated the word, and adding, 'I am as well prepared to die now, as I shall be.' — There is nothing to be told more, except that, after being soothed for a time by listening to some passages of Scripture, at length a delirium came on, in which the moving shadows cast by the hanging lamp, as it swung with the heaving of the sea, were taken and greeted for his distant friends ; and among them it is a satisfaction to one not of his kindred, but who certainly loved him, and wished him well for time and eternity, to know that his name was often affectionately uttered. 'Throughout the scene,' says the writer, speaking of the period of discomposure of his mind, 'not a word was uttered, which might not have been spoken by an angel in Heaven.' About eleven o'clock of that evening, having made a sign to be supported on the arms of those about him, he resigned his spirit, without a convulsion or the movement of a muscle. The next day, what was mortal of him was committed to the deep, with all studious observance of the rude but imposing ceremonial, with which a company of saddened men, on the stern solitude of that element, dismiss the no longer animated clay."

Obituary Notice. — Died, at his residence in Cambridge, on the 20th of February, 1834, STEPHEN HIGGINSON, Esq., aged 63. It would not have been possible, that such a man, so distinguished for those virtues and qualities which we all admit to constitute the highest moral worth, should have been permitted to pass away and slumber in the ground, without due and respectful notice from those who have survived, and who were witnesses of his remarkable energy, and constant and successful exertions in the cause of philanthropy and of Christian principles and feelings. To record those virtues and qualities, so well known to his associates and friends of his own generation, seemed to be a debt which they owed to society. Some of his personal friends have performed that office with fidelity, and, as they believed and as we believe, with entire truth. But still they did not say all, which the life of this excellent and pure man would have justified them in saying. They could do no more, perhaps, than express their own deep affection for his memory, leaving to others to speak more particularly of his religious influence on society. The active, sincere, and devoted exertions of the late Mr. Higginson, in favor of the institutions intended to promote liberal views of Christianity, demand from the conductors of a work established to advance those views, in our opinion so important, a more full notice of his character and conduct on this most interesting subject.

And yet, — such was the charm of his character, so unique, so different from the common forms in which men are made and present themselves, — it is so difficult to portray an individual human being so devoted to the happiness of others, so thoughtless of his own, and so absorbed in what he believed to be the true interests of religion and philanthropy, that it would require a pen more powerful than ours to describe his character. But still, there he was, in truth, in the midst of life, a benevolent — we had almost said an insulated — being, looking all around him after the welfare of others, and singularly regardless of whatever might conduce to that selfish happiness, which with most men is the prime object of living. If this is in any degree an exaggeration, we can only say, Point out an example of personal and social virtue and of disinterestedness as great as his, and we shall most cheerfully welcome the stranger, pleased to find another and most delightful proof of natural purity of character and the highest moral cultivation in this tempting and deceiving world.

Mr. Higginson was descended in a right line, and in the senior branch of that line, from the Rev. Francis Higginson, the second pastor of the First Church in Salem. That family for forty years presided over that church. Of the eminent

talents of Francis Higginson there are abundant proofs extant in our early history. His descendants always sustained a respectable standing, and Mr. Higginson's father was advanced, by his talents and energy, to high honors in the gift of the people. He was distinguished in the State Legislature in the revolutionary war; was elected by them a member of the National Congress in the most critical period of the war, and there performed an important part in the measures of that honored assembly. His son, the subject of our notice, was educated at the Academy in Andover, then the best classical school in the state. But his father destined him for the mercantile profession, which had been for three generations the occupation of his family. Mr. Stephen Higginson, Junior, was bred to commercial pursuits under the auspices of the late excellent Samuel Salisbury. He won his affection, respect, and full confidence. At the expiration of his apprenticeship, Mr. Salisbury associated Mr. Higginson in copartnership with his oldest son. Never was there in this country a more prosperous man, for a time, than Mr. Higginson became. His indefatigable industry, his pleasing manners, his unquestioned integrity, made his fortune with a rapidity which in the event overcame his prudence and circumspection. But while in affluence, as uprightly acquired as it was unexpectedly obtained, he lost nothing of his simplicity, purity, energy, and philanthropy. He devoted his wealth to the noblest of all purposes. He thought of his country, of its institutions, of the unfortunate who suffered for want of encouragement and sympathy. There exists no one public institution in Massachusetts, which was created during his prosperity, which does not reckon him among its founders. That is no small praise.

It would be unjust to him, the most modest of all men in his good deeds, to tell of what he freely and cheerfully contributed to the relief of distress and the support of rising merit. That part of his character must be left to that immortal record, which will be opened when all the good and evil deeds of this life shall be made known. We have only to speak, as friends of humanity and advocates of Christian truth, of his character under his reverses. He lost his fortune. He fell from the high and slippery eminence to which rapidly acquired wealth had elevated him. But did he sink, as too many do, never to rise again? Did his moral powers and energies abandon him? No. He exhibited the rare example, — and it is for *this* example more than for any other reason that we think he deserves the highest praise; — of a patient and almost sublime submission to the will of Providence. He did not despair. He

did not abandon his duty to God and society, because the claims of his family were more imperative. So far from this, it seemed as if he felt the duty of devoting his life to the public good became the more binding in proportion to his inability to promote his own, and that he must endeavour to make up his deficiency of means by the increased strenuousness of his exertions. We can in truth say, that, after his misfortunes, no man within our knowledge labored with greater zeal and more self-devotion to promote what he sincerely believed to be the cause of pure religion, and the happiness of all around him.

It was since the change in his worldly condition, that he exerted himself with so much earnestness and perseverance, and with such good success, in behalf of the Divinity School in Harvard University. No man so well deserves to be called the father of that institution in its improved state, and the founder of Divinity Hall, as Mr. Higginson. Both of the editors of this journal were connected with him in the direction of the Society for Promoting Theological Education in Harvard University, and they can bear full and cordial testimony to the importance and energy of his efforts to recommend and carry forward its purposes. Well do they remember, and they can never forget, the friendly heartiness of his intercourse with them; the readiness with which he undertook any service for the Society, and volunteered his aid in any difficulty; the eloquent frankness with which he expressed his own opinions; the generous candor with which he heard, considered, and frequently adopted the opinions of others; the respect which he manifested for learning and piety; the paternal regard which he evinced towards all the students of the School; the interest which he took in their improvement, and the solicitude with which he sought to obtain assistance for those who were indigent and worthy. These things, and his transparent honesty, his fearlessness of aught but evil, his love of his friends, his love of his enemies, the sweetness of his smile, the lighting up of his intelligent eye,—we can never forget. They were among our best refreshments in the wilderness,—they gave us “assurance of a man.”

There is one, and only one Almighty Judge of the motives of human conduct. To his unfailing and unerring tribunal, we humbly consign the character and destiny of this,—to our feeble vision,—pure and pious human being; and from our hearts we say, that we shall be contented to hope that our latter end, and final acceptance, may be like his.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N^o. LXIII.

NEW SERIES—N^o. XXXIII.

JULY, 1834.

- ART. I.—1. *The Life of William Roscoe*, by his Son HENRY ROSCOE. In Two Volumes. London. T. Cadell. 1833. 8vo. pp. 501 and 491.
2. *American Edition of the same Work*. 12mo. 2 vols. Boston. Russell, Odiorne, & Metcalf. 1833. pp. 370 and 374.

EVELYN, Beattie, and others, have been called to the mournful office of raising memorials to the virtues and talents of their children; and we have sorrowed with them over the tombs of piety and genius which have “faded timelessly.” Our sympathies are as strongly, though not so sadly excited in behalf of those children, who, as in the instance before us, perform the filial duty of building monuments to the blessed memory of their fathers. This seems to be more according to the course of nature. There are no early blights and disappointments to deplore. The grain has been gathered “in full season.”

It is not always that an eminent man leaves behind him a child, or near relative, who is capable of doing justice to his memory. This happiness has fallen to the lot of two friends who in their lifetime were united by similar tastes and opinions, literary, political, and religious, and who died within a few years of each other. Among the biographies which have been lately given to the public, few are so interesting as that of Sir James Edward Smith by his wife, and that of William Roscoe by his son.

On several accounts Mr. Roscoe seemed to be nearer to us than any of those distinguished persons whose deaths

have been announced to us from abroad in such rapid succession. The place of his abode was Liverpool, the great port of our English commerce, and the spot where those who leave us for health and the various other purposes of foreign travel, first greet the English soil. Here he was the life and soul of all that was literary, scientific, benevolent, and refined, the only name which the world knew, and, at least for a time, the only individual who redeemed the city from the charge of absolute dullness and darkness in every respect but that of trade. To him, therefore, our travellers sought to be introduced, and his reception of them was always such as increased the respect which they had before entertained for him. We all remember the enthusiastic description given of him by Washington Irving, in the beginning of his "Sketch Book." What he has expressed, every American of taste was wont to feel on being made acquainted with the historian of Lorenzo de' Medici and Leo X.

But this was not all. The liberality of Mr. Roscoe's mind and sentiments was such as to attract our peculiar regards. He was not only distinguished as an author and a literary man, but as a true, zealous, indefatigable philanthropist. He loved his fellow creatures; and no prejudices, no feudal notions, no aristocratic predilections, stood between him and his love. He was the staunch friend of free institutions. Oppression ever found in him an enemy, and human rights an advocate. To the great subjects of slavery, war, and prison discipline he devoted the healthy energies of his mind; his opinions in relation to them were those of the enlightened Christian; and his correspondence on the last topic especially, with gentlemen of this country, had doubtless no small share in perfecting that system in which we are allowed to excel other nations, and to which other nations are beginning to turn their attention as to a model.

And further, Mr. Roscoe was the friend of Americans and of their country. With a proper understanding of our deficiencies, he was a warm admirer of our merits and improvements. He easily pardoned us for not being so far advanced in literature, science, and luxurious refinements as some older countries. He bore with us in our habit of boasting, and acknowledged that it was rightfully ours by natural descent. He was not surprised to hear us talk tolerably good English, and did not expect to see our country-

men walking the streets of Liverpool in feathers and moccasins, and bearing bow and quiver. He was acquainted with our institutions. He was acquainted with our distinguished men, and did not affect to despise them. He seemed to have obtained almost as clear and correct ideas of our country as if he had actually seen it. And this was because he was a man of sense, of a fair mind, and of an honorable and charitable heart, and condescended to be informed, and took pains to inform himself. O that he could have come here! We then should have reckoned one traveller, who, if he had seen fit to report his observations, would have spoken of us candidly and with discrimination, and would neither have disgusted us with ignorant and wholesale praise, nor have been implacably offended with us on account of some little, indifferent habits, to which he was unaccustomed. But such a blessing we have yet to wait for, and meanwhile must be content with being misrepresented in the way both of flattery and abuse.

Mr. Roscoe was a virtuous and religious man, and as such possesses still higher claims on our remembrance. His life was remarkably pure as well as useful. His domestic character was delightful; his private influence most benign. He was penetrated with a constant sense of an overruling and paternal Providence. He was an humble and observant follower of the sinless one. He did not forget by whom his talents were bestowed. He did not employ his genius, as so many have done, in the miserable work of rebellion against its inspiring Source. He presented that most noble and consistent spectacle, a gifted man devoting his powers to the service of their Giver. His conduct, manners, and writings were alike irreproachable.

And, lastly, we should be unjust to him and to ourselves, if we omitted to state, in this enumeration of the bonds between us, that his views of Christianity were the same with our own. His reason, seriously applied to the study of the Scriptures, made him a Unitarian, and his conscience told him to avow his belief openly and without fear. He did not, as too many of his countrymen do, continue to cling to the established church, in spite of his convictions, because conformity is fashionable, or genteel, or profitable; but, being a Unitarian, he went to a Unitarian church, and there worshipped the Father in spirit and in truth; and

though he did not obtrude his opinions, and was uniformly charitable toward those with whom he could not agree, he was never unwilling to profess his faith, nor unable to give a reason for it. How can we help loving such a man, so honest, so free, so imbued with integrity of purpose, so superior to worldly and selfish considerations? And how brightly does his example contrast with the conduct of those, who make religion subservient to policy, — a miserable policy too.

We have offered a few considerations which unite in rendering the biography of Roscoe peculiarly interesting to us. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a sketch of his life, drawn from the two volumes in which his son has preserved its records.

William Roscoe was born in Liverpool, on the 8th of March, 1753. He was the only son of William and Elizabeth Roscoe, who had also an only daughter, Margaret, who was married to Daniel Daulby, Esq. His father kept a public house, and cultivated a market garden, and was fond of field sports and other amusements, a taste for which did not descend to his son, who was formed in a gentler and nobler mould. His remoter ancestors do not seem to have been of any higher rank in the world than his father; a circumstance which was so far from troubling him, that he made it a matter of good-natured pleasantry, telling the Garter King at Arms, when he met him in London, that as nothing was known of his humble forefathers, and as he himself had six sons, he thought he was an unobjectionable person to stand at the head of a family. "Amongst my new acquaintances," he says in a letter written in the year 1797 to his brother-in-law, Mr. Daulby, "is Sir Isaac Heard, who has been extremely civil to me; and is desirous of tracing the pedigree of the noble family of the Roscoes, which has hitherto, I find, baffled all his researches. I told him I was a good patriarch, and the proper person to *begin* a family, as I had six sons, &c. Accordingly, the whole descent is registered, and the Roscoes and Daulbys may now go on in *sæcula sæculorum*. Amen." On this subject he doubtless coincided in opinion with old Joshua Sylvester, who thus sets forth in an Epigram "The true Honour of the truly Honourable."

“Neither the birth drawn through in long descent,
 From noble, royall, or imperiall race ;
 Neither the match, with houses eminent,
 When heirs with heirs, their arms with arms they grace ;
 Neither possession of a princely rent,
 With sumptuous service in a stately place ;
 Are honours reall (being right defined)
 But reall virtues and a royall minde.”

Of the childhood and early youth of Mr. Roscoe he has himself given a short account in an epistle to a friend, which is preserved by his biographer. One of the first things which he remembers is “a decided aversion to compulsion and restraint.” This, to be sure, is not uncommon in children ; but in him it was the dawning of that love of virtuous liberty, which afterwards enlightened his whole character. From first to last it may be said of him, that his soul,

“ ——— though touched with human sympathies,
 Revolted at oppression.”

At the age of six he was put under the tuition of a Mr. Martin, who kept a school for boys in Liverpool. “To his care,” he says, “and the instructions of a *kind and affectionate mother*, I believe I may safely attribute any good principles which may have appeared in my conduct during my future life. It is to her I owe the inculcation of those sentiments of humanity, which became a principle in my mind. Nor did she neglect to supply me with such books as she thought would contribute to my literary improvement.” Here is another instance added to the many which history records, of the power which maternal influence has exerted in forming great and good men. So much has been said by others of this influence, which we hold to be only next to Heaven’s own, that we shall merely remark, that if it is so beneficial, so beautiful, so nearly divine in its operation, how contented should mothers be with its exercise, and how culpable those mothers are, who, in the eager pursuit of folly and fashion, are losing the rich opportunity of earning, it may be, the world’s blessing, by training up their offspring to virtue and usefulness. Elizabeth Roscoe, the innkeeper’s wife at the “Bowling-Green,” had little reason to envy the equipages which rolled past her door, or to sigh for a more extended sphere of duty or display, while she was guiding the mind and guarding the

heart of a beloved boy, who was by and by to take his place among the most distinguished writers and eminent philanthropists of his age.

After remaining about two years with Mr. Martin, young Roscoe was removed to another school, where he continued till he was twelve years of age. The germs of a poetical temperament and a humane disposition were now fast unfolding.

"According to my best recollection, I was at this period of my life of a wild, rambling, and unsocial disposition; passing many of my hours in strolling along the shore of the river Mersey, or in fishing, or in taking long walks alone. On one occasion, I determined to become a sportsman; and, having procured a gun, and found an unfortunate thrush perched on the branch of a tree, I brought him to the ground with fatal aim; but I was so horrified and disgusted with the agonies I saw him endure in death, that I have never since repeated the experiment." — Vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

He now began to be of service to his father in the garden; and often carried potatoes to Liverpool market for sale, on his head, in a large basket, and was entrusted with the disposal of them.

"In this and other laborious occupations, particularly in the care of a garden, in which I took great pleasure, I passed several years of my life, devoting my hours of relaxation to reading my books. This mode of life gave health and vigor to my body, and amusement and instruction to my mind; and to this day I well remember the delicious sleep which succeeded my labors, from which I was again called at an early hour. If I were now asked whom I consider to be happiest of the human race, I should answer, those who cultivate the earth by their own hands." — pp. 8, 9.

Being called upon in his fifteenth year to make choice of a profession, his attachment to reading induced him to prefer that of a bookseller, but, on being apprenticed accordingly, he soon grew tired of it. In the following year, 1769, he was articled for six years to an attorney and solicitor, and thus entered on the study of the law, but still devoted what time he could spare to the perusal of poets and other authors who fell in his way, among whom Shensstone and Goldsmith were his favorites. About this time he had the misfortune to lose his excellent mother.

Among the early companions of Mr. Roscoe, one is particularly noticed, as excelling in all accomplishments of body and mind. His name was Francis Holden, and it was by him that Mr. Roscoe's attention was first directed to the study of the Italian language and literature. It was at this early period, and while engaged in this course of study, that the idea of writing the life of Lorenzo de' Medici presented itself to his mind.

Another of Mr. Roscoe's friends at this time, but of the gentler sex, was Miss Maria Done, who was afterwards married to Mr. John Barton. This lady had great literary taste, and a talent for poetry. "Her son, Mr. Bernard Barton, to whom her poetical talents have descended, and her daughter, Mrs. Hack, the author of many valuable works for children, are well known in the literary world."

In the year 1773, Mr. Roscoe became one of the founders of a Society for the Encouragement of the Arts of Painting and Design, in Liverpool, and commemorated the event by an Ode which was his first published piece. The following comparison between the great masters of poetry and painting is well imagined, and shows the early taste of the author for both those arts.

"Majestic, nervous, bold, and strong,
Let Angelo with Milton vie ;
Opposed to Waller's amorous song,
His art let wanton Titian try ;
Let great Romano's free design
Contend with Dryden's pompous line ;
And chaste Correggio's graceful air
With Pope's unblemished page compare ;
Lorraine may rival Thomson's name ;
And Hogarth equal Butler's fame ;
And still, where'er the aspiring Muse
Her wide unbounded flight pursues,
Her sister soars on kindred wings sublime,
And gives her favorite names to grace the rolls of time." — p. 23.

Before he had attained his twentieth year, he published a longer poem, entitled "Mount Pleasant," which was the name of an eminence overlooking the town of Liverpool. This poem obtained the praise of Dr. Enfield, the poet Mason, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is remarkable as containing the author's first public protest against the Slave Trade. He also composed a tract in prose about the same

period, to which he gave the title of "Christian Morality, as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament, in the language of Jesus Christ." The work was divided into three heads ; Duty to God ; Duty to our Fellow Creatures ; and Duty to ourselves. Each head consisted of precepts of our Saviour, connected together by a few short illustrations and reflections. As his two former productions were evidence of his correct literary taste, so the latter afforded proof of a maturity of religious sentiment and knowledge, remarkable in so young a man. "It is, perhaps, worthy of notice," observes his son, "that in 1831, when Mr. Roscoe had the pleasure of a personal introduction to Rammohun Roy, he had the satisfaction of showing to the author of the 'Precepts of Jesus,' the youthful production of his first religious inquiries and impressions."

Having completed his clerkship, Mr. Roscoe was admitted, in 1774, an attorney of the Court of King's Bench, and commenced the practice of his profession at Liverpool. On the 22d of February, 1781, he was married to Miss Jane Griffies, a lady to whom he had been attached for several years, and whose literary taste, good sense, amiable dispositions, and correct principles harmonized with his own character and pursuits, and made her a help meet for him.

In the spring of the year 1782, Mr. Roscoe visited London on professional business, where he took the opportunity of adding, as far as prudence permitted, to his small collection of books and prints, and where he became acquainted with several distinguished men. A year or two afterwards, he wrote a poem, which was never published, called "The Origin of Engraving." In this poem some lines occur, which show that his mind was yet occupied on the subject which was afterwards treated by his pen with such eminent success. We give a part of these lines, as they are quoted by his biographer, together with Mr. Roscoe's note to one of them. The writer is speaking of the art of painting.

"Long drooped the sacred art, — but rose at length
With brighter lustre and redoubled strength ;
When great Lorenzo,* 'midst his mild domain,
Led the gay Muses and their kindred train ;

* Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, (born in 1448, died in 1492,) was the director of the Florentine republic for upwards of

Then, as the bard the imagined story drew,
The kindling artist bade it rise to view;
Till the strong comment shamed the sister art,
And found a nearer passage to the heart."—p. 50.

In the years 1787 and 1788, Mr. Roscoe published the first and second parts of his "*Wrongs of Africa*," a poem in which he manfully continued his opposition to that traffic which above all others has been branded with the epithet *accursed*. His high and true heroism in being so active in this cause may be in some measure estimated from the following remarks by his son.

"The African slave-trade constituted, at this period, a great part of the commerce of Liverpool. A numerous body of merchants and ship-owners, and a still more formidable array of masters of vessels, and sailors, looked to the continuance of that traffic for their emolument or their support. The wealth and prosperity of the town were supposed to depend chiefly upon this branch of commerce, and there were few persons whose interests were not, directly or indirectly, connected with the prosecution of it. Even those whose employments had no reference to commercial objects, found their opinions and feelings with regard to the traffic necessarily affected by the tone of the society in which they mingled. Under these circumstances it was hardly to be expected that Liverpool should be the place from which a voice should be heard appealing to the world on behalf of the captive African. Fortunately, however, the mind of Mr. Roscoe remained unshackled by the prejudices or the interests of those around him, nor did any motives of a personal nature operate to prevent the expression of his opinions. He had been gifted with those strong feelings of abhorrence to injustice, and of resistance to oppression, which are the great moral engines bestowed by God upon man for the maintenance of his virtue and his freedom. The 'aversion to compulsion,' recorded by Mr. Roscoe as one of his earliest characteristics, led him in his youth to form very

twenty years, and the father of John de' Medici, afterwards pope, by the name of Leo X. To the munificence and taste of Lorenzo is principally to be attributed the sudden progress of the fine arts in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century. But this is only a small part of his praise. If a full enquiry be made into his life and character, he will appear to be not only one of the most extraordinary, but, perhaps, upon the whole, the most extraordinary man that any age or nation has produced."

decided opinions upon this question, which, in his after life, occupied much of his attention, and in which he had ultimately the gratification of knowing that he had labored not unsuccessfully." — pp. 54, 55.

At the same period he published a pamphlet on the same important subject, entitled, "A General View of the African Slave Trade, demonstrating its Injustice and Impolicy; with Hints towards a Bill for its Abolition." This excited great attention, and was much commended by the friends of the cause of freedom; and yet more praise was elicited by an answer which he published a few months afterwards, to a work called "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade," written by a Rev. Raymond Harris, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been educated for the Catholic priesthood. In speaking of this work of Harris's, Dr. Currie, habitually a most moderate man in all his thoughts and expressions, could not contain his anger. "A little scoundrel," says he, "a Spanish Jesuit, has advanced to the assistance of the slave-merchants, and has published a vindication of this traffic from the Old Testament." He also says that the work was "egregiously false and sophistical." Mr. Roscoe's answer to it was considered triumphant. It immediately attracted the attention of the London Abolition Committee, who took all the remaining copies, and ordered another edition to be printed. "It is the work of a master," says his friend, Mr. Barton, "and by much the best answer Harris has received."

Mr. Roscoe now began to engage himself pretty actively in politics; from no interested motives, however, but because he found it impossible to remain a quiet spectator of the excitement produced in England by the accounts of the commencement and progress of the French Revolution. It is hardly worth while to state which side he espoused, it is so evident from what has already been exhibited of his principles, that he must have joined the friends of rational freedom, and enemies of arrogant despotism. He went into the controversy heart and hand, and, as usual, brought his pen to the contest in poetry and prose. At a meeting held in Liverpool to celebrate the taking of the Bastille, on the 14th of July, 1790, he produced a song which became quite popular, beginning, "Unfold, Father Time! thy long records unfold;" and on a similar occasion, the next year, he

brought forward his more successful and better remembered song, "O'er the vine covered hills and gay regions of France." At this period he engaged in correspondence with some of the most distinguished men of the liberal party, among whom was the Marquis of Lansdowne. As the French Revolution went on, he, with all other good men, was shocked and even dismayed by the excesses and atrocities which were every day committed; but he did not, on that account, conceive it necessary that he should forsake his principles, as many did, and go over to the favorers of arbitrary government. The remarks which are made on this subject by his son, appear to us so just as well as eloquent, that we cannot forbear extracting them.

"As the revolution proceeded,—as the confidence of the people in the sincerity of the king decreased,—as the passions of various parties became more and more exasperated,—as the threats of foreign interference were redoubled, the aspect of political affairs in France grew darker and darker. It now became evident that despotism, amongst its most hateful qualities, possesses that of rendering those who suffer under its influence unfit for the wise enjoyment of freedom, until after a long and too often a sanguinary education;—that it is vain to expect from slaves, the discretion, the forbearance, and the magnanimity of freemen; and that the fatal retribution of the crimes of governments is found in the madness of the people. The oppression of the atmosphere is carried off in lightnings and in storms, and despotism expires in tumults and in blood. The crimes of the French revolution have been by many absurdly charged on those alone by whose hands they were committed; while their governors, who had industriously extirpated the principles and feelings which would have prevented such excesses, have been represented as their martyrs. Time, and calm reflection, will teach the better lesson, that, to render a people humane, just, and moderate, their government must first set them an example of humanity, of justice, and of moderation."—pp. 80, 81.

Mr. Burke's "Two Letters to a Member of Parliament," were answered by Mr. Roscoe in a pamphlet containing "Strictures" on those letters; and as he was aware that ridicule is often as formidable a weapon as argument, he assailed his great antagonist in a ballad, entitled "The Life, Death, and wonderful Achievements of Edmund Burke." He represents Burke, in this ballad, as a knight-errant;

and the famous quarrel which took place in the House of Commons between him and Fox, is thus described ;—

“ Full tilt he ran at all he met,
And round he dealt his knocks,
Till, with a backward stroke at last,
He hit poor Charley Fox.

“ Now Charley was, of all his friends,
The warmest friend he had ;
So when he felt this graceless blow,
He deemed the man was mad.

“ With grief his generous bosom rose,
A grief too great to hide ;
And as the stroke was somewhat hard,
He sat him down and cried.

“ But not a whit did Edmund feel ;
For at his friend he flew,
Resolved, before the neighbours round,
To beat him black and blue.

“ Then Charles indignant started up,
The meagre form he took,
And with a giant's awful grasp
His rusty armour shook.

“ Oh, have ye seen a mastiff strong
A shivering lap-dog tear ?—
Then may ye judge how Edmund did,
When clawed by Charles, appear.”—p. 88.

Amidst the storms of politics, however, Mr. Roscoe did not lose his taste for the calm pursuits of literature, or for the pleasures of the country and agricultural occupations. About the year 1792, he formed the design of reclaiming and cultivating an extensive tract of moss-land in the neighbourhood of Manchester ; and in order to obtain a lease of it he visited London in the winter of that year, in company with his friend, Mr. Thomas Wakefield, who had joined him in the enterprise. Two years before this, he had removed from Liverpool, and taken a house pleasantly situated at Toxteth Park, about two miles from town. He was attracted to this place of residence by a beautiful

dingle which stretched on to the shores of the Mersey, and which he has celebrated by an "Inscription," beginning "Stranger! that with careless feet," which seems to us to be the most pleasing of his poetical essays. In 1793, he left this situation, and removed to Birchfield, also in the vicinity of Liverpool, where he erected a house for himself.

Previously to the last named removal, Mr. Roscoe had applied himself seriously and diligently to the execution of his long cherished design of writing the life of Lorenzo de' Medici. The obstacles in his way, arising from the great quantity of necessary materials, published and unpublished, and the difficulty of procuring them, were many and great. Many books he had obtained by busy search into all the book-stalls and shops of London; and the Crevenna and Pinelli libraries, being on sale at this time, supplied him with many more. But the rich stores contained in the literary repositories of Italy were still inaccessible, and his engagements at home prevented his taking a journey to the continent for the purpose of personal examination. Perhaps he might have been discouraged by this, had it not been that an intimate friend of his, Mr. William Clarke, was residing for the winter at Florence, for the sake of his health, who became of the greatest service to him, by sending him the titles of such books as he supposed he might require, and by causing extracts to be taken from many valuable manuscripts which existed in the great Florentine libraries, relating to the history of the Medici family. Among the unpublished pieces thus transmitted to him, were many original poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, a small collection of which he sent to the press in 1791, as a sort of avant-courier to his *Life*, limiting the number of copies to twelve, to be distributed amongst his literary friends. This volume was appropriately dedicated, in the Italian language, to his friend Mr. Clarke.

The first sheets of the *Life of Lorenzo* were committed to the press in the autumn of the year 1793, and in February, 1796, it was published by Mr. Edwards of Pall Mall, who soon wrote the author word that the whole of a parcel containing fifty copies, which had been sent from Liverpool, had gone off in three days, and that he was "most cruelly teased for more." Compliments and encomiums poured in upon the historian from all quarters; notes of thanks and gratulation

were received from old Lord Orford (Horace Walpole), the Earl of Bristol, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Dr. Parr, Sir Samuel Romilly, Dr. Aikin, and others; in short, the success of the work was brilliant and complete. "Assured on all hands," writes Lord Lansdowne, "of the success of '*Lorenzo de' Medici*,' which has been far beyond any book I remember (and Mr. Hume's publication of his first volumes is within my memory), we determined to reserve it till we went to Wycombe, and could have the full enjoyment of it free from interruption; and I can venture to assure you that, great as our prejudice was in its favor, it exceeded our expectation." "I have heard but one opinion of it," are the words of Dr. Aikin, "that it is the most elegant and interesting publication of the literary kind, that has appeared in our language for many years."

Mr. Roscoe published the first edition of his work on his own account. Soon after its appearance Messrs. Cadell and Davies offered him twelve hundred pounds for the copyright, which offer was accepted. Those gentlemen speedily put a second edition to the press, which was followed by another in 1799.

On the continent the success of the "*Life*" was answerable to its reception at home. A translation of it was made in Italy by the Cavaliero Gaetano Mecherini, and was published in 1799. In Germany it was translated into the language of that country by Kurt Sprengel, a celebrated medical professor at Halle. The work appeared in 1797. Two years afterwards, a French translation by M. François Thurot was published in Paris.

In America, an edition of the "*Life*" was printed at Philadelphia in the year 1803, and was quickly disposed of. Perhaps there was nearly as much enthusiasm in regard to it, at that time and for several years after, in this country as in England. The excitement has now, of course, subsided, but the work occupies an honorable place in the library of every lover of history and elegant literature.

It is not to be wondered at, that a man of Mr. Roscoe's taste should grow tired of his profession, though it was the one which he had chosen for a support. The two following extracts from letters to his friends, Mr. Ralph Eddowes of Philadelphia, and Mr. Rathbone of Liverpool, give the reasons for his leaving it, and also furnish pleasant specimens

of his epistolary style. The first is addressed to Mr. Ed-
dowes.

“ ‘Since I last addressed you, I have made a very important change, though not a local one, and have entirely relinquished my profession ; having, however, first made an arrangement with my late partner, Mr. Lace, productive of some advantage to me. This I have been induced to do rather from a concurrence of many reasons, than from any one predominant circumstance ; but I must, in truth, confess that a consciousness that I was not suited for the profession, nor the profession for me, has long hung about me, and that I have taken the first opportunity which has been allowed me of divesting myself of it altogether. Add to this, that my undertaking in the draining of Chat and Trafford mosses bears a favorable aspect ; and that I shall be under the necessity of being so frequently absent from Liverpool, as would render it impossible for me to carry on the business of the law with satisfaction either to my clients or myself.’

“ A note to Mr. Rathbone, written about the same time as the preceding letter, manifests very clearly the tone of Mr. Roscoe’s mind at the period of this change.

“ ‘I am much obliged by the tailpiece to your letter of to-day, though, to say the truth, it amounts to nothing more than calling me (in very friendly terms) an idle and extravagant fellow, who is playing off the artful trick of getting hold of the conveniences and pleasures of life without performing any of its duties. This I relish the worse, as I am not sure that there is not some degree of truth in it ; but I am much surer, that to toil and labor for the sake of laboring and toiling, is a much more foolish part ; and that it is the curse of God upon avarice, that he who has given himself up too long to its dominion, shall never be able to extricate himself from its chains. Surely man is the most foolish of all animals, and civilized man the most foolish of all men. Anticipation is his curse ; and to prevent the contingency of evil, he makes life itself only one continued evil. Health, wisdom, peace of mind, conscience, are all sacrificed to the absurd purpose of heaping up, for the use of life, more than life can employ, under the flimsy pretext of providing for his children, till practice becomes habit, and we labor on till we are obliged to take our departure, as tired of this world as we are unprepared for the rational happiness of the next.

“ ‘I have much more to say to you on this subject, but this is not the place for it. I shall therefore leave you to your

“ Double double,
Toil and trouble,
Fire burn, and caldron bubble,”

whilst I go to the arrangement of the fifth class of my plants, and take my chance of a few years in a work-house, some fifty years hence, which I shall think well compensated by having had the lot to live so long.' " — pp. 152, 153.

The relinquishment of his profession by Mr. Roscoe took place in 1796. He had some idea of resuming it, on making a visit to London the next year, and even went so far as to be entered at Gray's Inn, but he soon gave up the design altogether. It was at this time that he made the acquaintance of Sir Isaac Heard. An interesting fact relating to General Washington, is recorded in connexion with this acquaintance.

"Amongst the persons with whom Mr. Roscoe at this time became acquainted, was the late Sir Isaac Heard, Garter principal King at Arms. This acquaintance led him to the knowledge of a singular fact respecting General Washington, which he afterwards communicated to an American gentleman in the following letter: — 'I have now the pleasure of performing my promise of repeating to you, by letter, the information I gave you in Liverpool, respecting the memorial of General Washington and his family, drawn up in his own hand-writing, and sent by him to the late Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, to be enrolled by him in the records of the Heralds' College, London.

"It is now about thirty years since I had the good fortune to form an acquaintance with Sir Isaac Heard, who was a kind friend, an excellent patriot, and, I need scarcely add, a very worthy man. On visiting him one day in his office in Doctors' Commons, I observed a portrait over the chimney-piece, not sufficiently characterized for me to decipher, and to the best of my recollection, not in the first style of art.

"I could, however, perceive that it was not the representation of the personage who might have been expected to preside at the fountain of honor; and on expressing my surprise to Sir Isaac, and enquiring whose portrait it was, he replied in his usual energetic manner, "Whose is it? Whose should it be? but the portrait of the greatest man of the age, — General Washington." On my assenting to this remark, he added, "Now, Sir, I will show you something farther." And turning to his archives he took out some papers, consisting of several sheets closely written, saying, "Here, Sir, is the genealogy and family history of General Washington, with which he has, at my request, furnished me, in his own hand-writing, and which I shall have a particular pleasure in preserving amongst the most precious records of my office;" which I have no doubt he

has accordingly done, and where I presume they may still be seen on application to the proper authorities.' " — pp. 159, 160.

The singularity of this account may be explained by the fact, that Sir Isaac Heard had connexions in America, and had resided for some time in Boston.

Not long after Mr. Roscoe had relinquished his profession, in which he had been laboriously engaged for upwards of twenty years, he was enabled to purchase Allerton Hall, a beautiful old manor about six miles from Liverpool. And here he thought that he should be able to spend the rest of life in the pursuit of his literary, botanical, and agricultural tastes. But he soon felt himself obliged by the claims of friendship, to become an active partner in the extensive banking establishment of the Clarkes, whose affairs he had been instrumental in adjusting, when they were in a state of considerable embarrassment. He was thus thrown again into the midst of affairs, and for a short time the engagements of his new situation "almost put a complete stop to his literary labors." By and by, however, as this pressure was gradually alleviated, he returned in corresponding degrees to his cherished pursuits. He resumed his labors on the "*Life of Leo X.*", the design of writing which he had for some time entertained, and he prosecuted afresh his botanical studies. There being at this period considerable attention paid to botany in Liverpool, he joined with several of his friends in the establishment of a Botanic Garden, which was opened in the summer of 1802; and which soon became celebrated for its scientific value, as well as for its beauty. His connexion with this institution led him into a correspondence with Sir James Edward Smith, who, in 1803, paid a visit to Allerton, when a friendship was commenced between these two accomplished and excellent men, which was strengthened every year, and continued uninterrupted till the death of the latter, — perhaps we ought to say, was not even then interrupted.

In 1805, Mr. Roscoe was called to mourn the death of his friend Dr. Currie; and but a short time elapsed, before another dear friend, his early literary associate, Mr. Clarke, was taken away from him. He was deeply affected by these events, and an extract from one of his letters will show the religious temper with which he regarded them.

"Surely, the misery that usually attends the close of life affords one of the strongest proofs of a future state of exist-

ence. For how is it possible to suppose that the same Supreme Being, who has distributed such various and extensive happiness to his creatures, would finally conclude the whole with pain and distress? This view of the subject is the only one that can afford us any real consolation, either for the sufferings of our friends, or for those which we must experience ourselves. After a life evidently intended to exercise our virtues, and improve our moral powers, death may be considered as the last great trial of our fortitude; the display of which, as it exhibits a complete triumph over the weakness of human nature, seems the best calculated to terminate our labors in this world, and accompany us on our entrance into the next. In the mean time, we who survive are like soldiers in an army, who, as their ranks are thinned by the enemy, draw nearer to each other.' " — pp. 212, 213.

It was not till the spring of 1806, that Mr. Roscoe enjoyed the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Dr. Parr, though he had for some years occasionally corresponded with him. The visit of the old Grecian to Allerton was afterwards the subject of a letter from him, which, though short, is as good a specimen of his style, in its simpler form, as we remember to have seen. It also says much for the warmth of his heart.

" 'Dear Mr. Roscoe,

" 'I am now in my sixtieth year. I have conversed with the wisest and most learned of my contemporaries, and I say to you with great sincerity, that the days I spent with you, and your family, were amongst the happiest days of my life. I shall remember you; I shall esteem you; I shall praise you; I shall bless you, one and all, again and again. Yes, dear Sir, I am thankful to Heaven for granting me such an intellectual and such a moral repast. I shall again be thankful, if I am permitted again to see you, and your wife, and your children.' " — pp. 222, 223.

The "Life of Leo X.," which had been in the press upwards of two years, appeared before the public in the summer of 1805, in four quarto volumes, and the whole edition, consisting of a thousand copies, was soon disposed of. Generally it was received with the same favor which had greeted the publication of "Lorenzo"; but some complained that it was prolix, and the Edinburgh Review treated it with the harshness which was then, more than at present, its habit. Against the charge of prolixity Mr. Roscoe defended himself, by stating, that he had collected many original facts and

documents of importance; and that it was impossible to do justice to these, and to the great variety of subjects necessarily involved in his task, without seeming tedious to many readers. In our opinion the defence is perfectly sound. There is no doubt, that the liberality of opinion constantly expressed by the historian, especially in treating of the Reformation, operated to his disadvantage in many minds which were more narrow than his own; but as time rolls on, and opinion grows more free, this circumstance will prove one of the chief and most fragrant ingredients in embalming his work. To the unfavorable criticisms which had appeared, Mr. Roscoe prepared a reply; but on consideration he gave up the idea of printing it, conceiving it unnecessary to defend a work which had been received with approbation by the most competent judges. The concluding paragraph of the manuscript is preserved by his son, and it appears to us strongly affecting in its noble simplicity.

“ ‘ With this publication, to which I have been reluctantly impelled, by the just defence of myself and my writings, I take a final and a grateful leave of the public in the character of a literary historian, — a character which I have been led to assume, rather by accidental circumstances, than by preparatory studies or deliberate intention. Having now laid before them what I had to communicate, I have finished my task, and return with fresh ardor to the humbler but not unimportant occupations of private life. If my productions should still continue to experience the indulgence of my readers, few of them will be inclined to deny that I have now written enough. If the censures of my opponents be well founded, I have long since written too much; yet I would gladly flatter myself in the hope that my writings may preserve some faint memorial of their author, and may exhibit him as the friend of liberal studies, the admirer of whatever is excellent in the human character, and the advocate of truth, of liberty, and of virtue.’ ” — p. 254.

As was the case with “Lorenzo,” so “Leo X.,” was translated into the German, Italian, and French languages; and was republished in Philadelphia. Boston, though a literary place always, comparatively speaking, was not then the literary mart that it is now.

We next see Mr. Roscoe again and more prominently on the stage of politics. He was requested by his friends in Liverpool, just before the general election of 1806, to stand

as candidate for Parliament, and he consented. His opponents were the old members, Generals Gascoyne and Tarleton, and, at the end of a severe contest of seven days, he beat the military gentlemen by a good majority. His career at St. Stephen's was a useful, though a short and not a brilliant one. He particularly discharged his conscience and gratified his feelings, by speaking against the Slave-Trade, and voting for its abolition; a measure which was accomplished by that parliament of which he was a member. Parliament was dissolved in the spring of 1807; various political circumstances contributed to his defeat at the next election, and he returned without regret to private life. The following extract from a letter to Sir J. E. Smith obliges us to believe that he returned even with joy.

“ ‘I have for some time past rejoiced in the thought that I am likely to see you in Lancashire in the course of the present summer. I already anticipate the happiness I shall have in your society at Allerton, where I must at least claim some portion of your time, and where I shall be delighted to stroll and saunter with you through the fields in an evening, instead of being locked up, balloting for committees, in St. Stephen's. In truth, my dear friend, it requires but little of the efforts of others to drive me from public life. The only wonder is, that I was ever brought into it; and I sink back with such a rapidity of gravitation into my natural inclination for quiet and retirement, that I totally despair of ever being roused again to a similar exertion. Add to this, that the one great object which was continually before my eyes is now attained, and I shall have the perpetual gratification of thinking that I gave my vote in the assembly of the nation, for abolishing the slave-trade to Africa. Though not insensible to the state of the country, yet I see no question of equal magnitude; and am fully aware how little my efforts could avail in the political struggles of the times. Come then, my friend, and let us again open the book of nature, and wander through the fields of science. Your presence will increase my reviving relish for botanical pursuits; and when we are tired with those subjects, we will call in the aid of the poets and philosophers to vary our entertainments.’ ”
— p. 302.

But though no longer in a public station, Mr. Roscoe could not so far withdraw himself from politics as not to feel deeply interested in the stirring events of the times, and not to express his opinions with openness and force. Through the whole of Pitt's warlike administration, he was the steady

opponent of that minister, and undazzled by successes abroad, and unintimidated by the popular voice at home, which is in all countries secured by military glory, he remained the unflinching advocate of peace, peace for his own country, and peace, on general principles, for the world. His pamphlets were among the best which the times called forth. That his pacific efforts had no effect in disposing the public mind to peace, gave him great pain. Having expressed his mournful feelings in a letter to Sir Philip Francis, the latter replied in a style which may induce some of our readers to believe that it is not without reason that he has been supposed to be, among many other candidates, the author of the "Letters of Junius."

"I am not surprised at your giving up all hope of the country, much less at your intention to withdraw yourself from political discussion. An author whom I greatly respect has told me "that in all ages the rage of popular violence has been principally directed against the best friends and benefactors of mankind." So, if you are fortunate enough to escape unpunished from the public service, you must be satisfied with impunity, and consider it as a reward. There may, probably, be an exception in your favor, but the general rules of human justice are against you. The only traveller I know of, whose veracity is not to be suspected, informs us that, in the island of Glubdubdrib, he had an opportunity of conversing with the spirits of the dead; and he says, that "having read of some great services done to princes and states, he desired to see the persons by whom those services were performed. On inquiry, he was told that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them whom history hath represented as the vilest rogues and traitors. As to the rest, he had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habit; most of them telling him they died in poverty and disgrace, and the rest of them on a scaffold or a gibbet." Nevertheless, if you believe, as I do, that great faculties are given in trust, and that duty may survive hope, I cannot allow you to quit your station. The very worst of all the symptoms in the present case, is the universal indifference of the country to the dangers that surround it. Something must be done to rouse the people and bring them to their senses; and I, for one, shall look to you for some great contribution to that service. While I am here at Lord Thanet's, I shall read and study all your tracts again. You cannot give me wealth or power; but you can, and shall, give instruction. I will not

suffer you to forget me, if I can help it. I would rather have accompanied Charles Fox to his grave, and into it, *egenus et exul uterque*, than have been witness to what I heard and saw in the last six months of his life. He missed the moment—*e curru descendens Teutonico*. He might have commanded, as you will do, his own Euthanasia. To my knowledge, more than twenty years of his life were heroic. Farewell, dear sir; do not yet despair of the Republic.' ” — pp. 358, 359.

In following the course of Mr. Roscoe's life, one cannot fail to be struck with the expansiveness, the fine humanity, and what may be called the ultimate truth of his opinions, on every great subject to which he gave his attention. Such were his opinions on slavery, on peace, on elections and parliamentary reform. They were opinions which are more and more acknowledged to be true, as time passes on and men grow enlightened; opinions which are founded on the divine principles of Christianity, and on a just and benevolent understanding of human nature, human duties, and human rights; opinions which the wise and philanthropical are convinced must and will ultimately prevail, notwithstanding the temporary opposition of prejudice and fear, of arrogance and selfishness, of the cold-hearted and the hard-hearted, of the purse-proud and the birth-proud. On the subject of parliamentary reform, Mr. Roscoe had an opportunity of laying his sentiments before the public, in a letter addressed to Mr. now Lord Chancellor Brougham, in the year 1811. This letter was called forth by one from Mr. Brougham, in which that gentleman had explained his own views, and requested those of his correspondent. Although there was not an exact harmony between the opinions of the writers, Mr. Brougham at that time believing that reform should be introduced, or rather insinuated, by slow degrees and small beginnings; yet he thought so highly of the general argument of Mr. Roscoe's letter, that he urgently requested him to publish it, and with this request its author complied. The main point enforced in the letter, with regard to the elective franchise, was, that “the right of voting should be extended to all who, as householders, are heads of families, and contribute to the exigencies of the state, as well as to some other descriptions of the community.” The advocates for small and cautious reforms, are told plainly, that “the time for intermediate measures is past. Those who are in the possession of the

emoluments of office, and rely upon borough influence, have taken their stand; they will either retain all or lose all; and would consider the smallest concession towards reform as a Hollander would the cutting through an embankment, which would soon let in the ocean that must sweep him away." And to the same purpose is the following picturesque passage.

" 'He who attempts to restore a mouldering brick, or to replace a rotten timber, is as obnoxious to them, as he who would pull down the building. It is in the holes, and chinks, and corners, which time and decay have produced, that they live, and feed, and fatten; and the first symptom of improvement is to them the signal of alarm.' "—Vol. II. p. 9.

On the success of these opinions, let us now hear the biographer.

"At the close of his life Mr. Roscoe had the happiness of seeing a scheme of reform introduced, founded upon the principles which he had himself thus earnestly supported. He witnessed an attempt made to abolish 'the various and capricious qualifications' of voters, and to substitute, in place of them, a franchise at once just, simple, and rational, in those 'who as householders are heads of families, and contribute to the exigencies of the state.' He saw a system proposed which realized, in almost every particular, the plan recommended by himself. He did not, indeed, live to see the completion of this great measure, or to witness the confirmation which it afforded of the many important truths contained in his Letter to Mr. Brougham: to mark the accuracy of his assertion that 'the feeling of the people, when once warmed and excited, will not stop short of an ultimate and substantial reform,' and that 'alterations or reforms in government are more to be dreaded from the opposition they meet with, than from the effects they are likely to produce.' It was the happy fortune of his distinguished correspondent, not only to see these important changes effected, but also to be one of the principal instruments of their accomplishment."—pp. 12, 13.

The year following the publication of the above mentioned letter, Mr. Roscoe was strongly solicited by his Liverpool friends, to offer himself once more to represent his native city; and he was also requested to stand for Westminster. But he had made up his mind not to quit private life; and he probably wanted those showy and pushing qualities in action, which are almost necessary in political life, to gain for a man a con-

spicuous place, or a shining name. He exerted himself, however, as the head of the liberal party in Liverpool, to procure for his friends the best candidates, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevey were prevailed upon to offer themselves. On this occasion Mr. Brougham paid a welcome visit to Allerton Hall. The anti-reformers were roused to exert themselves, and procured Mr. Canning as their candidate. After a sharp contest they carried the day, and Mr. Canning and General Gascoyne were returned.

From 1812 to 1815, Mr. Roscoe occupied himself chiefly with literary pursuits. During this period he became acquainted with Mr. Owen of Lanark; and his correspondence with him shows, that though he regarded some of his benevolent plans with approbation and pleasure, he seriously expostulated with him on those crazy and pernicious notions, which have completely vitiated all the good which that misguided individual has ever done, or probably can ever do. In 1814 he paid a long wished for visit, and one to which he had been long urged, to Holkam, and made a firm friend of its distinguished owner, Mr. Coke. Sir James Edward Smith, Dr. Parr, and others, had been invited to meet him; and here, among congenial companions, and in the midst of literary treasures, he passed several happy weeks. In Mr. Coke's library he found a large number of invaluable manuscripts and scarce books, and as they were in a most neglected condition, he offered to superintend their binding and repairs, on his return to Liverpool. The offer was accepted with gratitude, and the work was done in a masterly manner by Jones of Liverpool, who was quite a genius in his line of art. The visit to Holkam was repaid by Mr. Coke in the autumn of 1815.

We now come to the period when the strength of Mr. Roscoe's mind, and the depth and value of its resources, were doomed to be tried by a total reverse of worldly fortune; when the elegant competence, if not wealth, which he had acquired by professional labor, by his literary works, and by honorable business, was to be all taken away; when the choice collections which his taste had gathered, under the warrant of his means, were to be surrendered, divided, and scattered abroad.

Toward the close of the year 1815, the banking-house in which Mr. Roscoe was a partner, had labored under considerable difficulty, owing to several adverse circumstances.

In addition to this, the opening of the American trade, in consequence of the peace, created a great demand for cash, and large balances were withdrawn from the bank. After struggling for a few days to sustain themselves, the partners were obliged to suspend their payments, on the 25th of January, 1816. At a meeting of creditors, a committee of seven was appointed to inquire into the concerns of the house, and their report declaring the house to be solvent, was adopted at another meeting. Under this aspect of affairs, Mr. Roscoe believed himself justified in retaining the management of the business, and drew up a plan by which he proposed to discharge all the debts of the bank, with interest, in six years. To this end he labored with all his energies, early and late, and large payments were made; but owing to the fall of landed and other property, and various circumstances of a like unpropitious nature, he was at last obliged to relinquish what he had undertaken. The private property of the partners was surrendered at the first. Mr. Roscoe promptly yielded his own to the necessity of the case, and it was only parting with his library and literary collections, that cost him much regret. But he resolved to part with every volume and every print, excepting those only, which had been presented to him by their authors; and, in the midst of his engagements and anxieties he prepared the catalogue of his library with his own hands. The sale took place in 1817, and was attended by the principal collectors in the kingdom. Many of the rare volumes brought high prices. One manuscript alone, of the Bible, written about the fourteenth century, was sold for two hundred guineas, and was bought for Mr. Coke. The collection of prints produced nearly two thousand pounds, and that of drawings and paintings nearly three thousand more.

Mr. Roscoe's benevolence and deep sense of duty were brightly manifested in the midst of this dark change of condition. During the four years in which he was struggling to maintain the credit of his bank, and living with the most careful economy, he continued to correspond with his friends and with eminent men at home and abroad, on the subjects which interested his heart. In the year 1819, particularly, he exerted himself in many ways to soften the horrors of prisons and of the Criminal law of England, and published his three parts of "*Observations on Penal Jurisprudence*

and the Reformation of Offenders"; tracts which are informed by the spirit of enlightened humanity, and which, as we have before observed, contributed to bring about that system of prison discipline, which has already produced the most salutary effects in our own country.

As the difficulty of adjusting the affairs of the bank continued to increase, a few of Mr. Roscoe's creditors instituted suits against him, which obliged him to keep himself a prisoner in his own house, that he might not be taken to a less pleasant place of confinement; and a commission of bankruptcy having issued, all the partners in the concern were declared bankrupts. The suits against Mr. Roscoe, however, were still maintained, till at last he was freed from them, and restored to his entire liberty, by the allowance of his certificate of conformity, which had for some time been disputed. This was in the year 1820.

"It was at this period that, unknown to himself, several of his friends united together for the purpose of raising a sum of money for his use. This object was accomplished with ease, and the sum of 2500*l.* was contributed, and vested in trustees for the benefit of himself and his family. The office of communicating to him this kind and liberal act, on the part of his friends, was confided to Dr. Traill, who by his judicious representations, and affectionate remonstrances, succeeded in removing from the mind of Mr. Roscoe the objections which he felt to incur obligations of so serious a nature." — pp. 193, 194.

In the spring of the following year, the writer of this article, who was then in Liverpool, had the happiness of being made acquainted with Mr. Roscoe, and remembers well the impression of the first interview. His appearance was strikingly venerable, and at the same time most engaging. He was tall and well made, and when young must have been handsome. Now, his form was slightly bent, showing that years and sorrows were upon him, and that he felt their weight. His forehead was high, though not broad. His eyes were grey, full, and beaming with an expression at once lively and gentle. The brows which shaded them were thick and overhanging. His nose was elevated, narrow, and Roman. In his manners he was the perfect gentleman, — dignified and easy, though simple, affable, and unpretending. His voice was clear and pleasant, but his pronunciation was not entirely free from the peculiarities of the Lancashire

dialect, so that it was remarked for its provincialism when he was in parliament. This circumstance, however, by no means diminished the interest of his conversation, which was animated and flowing; and the ear soon became accustomed to what was at most but a slight defect, and forgot to notice it. He was no longer the wealthy banker; and the change of his circumstances was accompanied by a corresponding change in his style of living. He was no longer master of Allerton Hall, of its old pictures, its choice library, its noble park, and its garden of exotics. The fair mansion had passed into the hands of another proprietor, and its ornaments and delights had been brought to the hammer, and dispersed through the island. He was now living in one of a block of small houses which stand on what is called the Mount, a public walk in Liverpool, running parallel with Great George Street, and commanding an extensive view of the city, the river with its shipping, the Irish Channel on the right, and, a little to the left, the varied outline of the Welsh mountains. The appearance of things in the little parlour, indicated confined means, but still no want of the necessities, comforts, and some of the simpler elegancies of life. The furniture was plain, and just sufficient for every day's use; but near the fire-place there was a hanging-shelf of handsome books, a piano-forte occupied nearly one side of the room, and close to it in the corner stood a harp. Here dwelt the most distinguished man in Liverpool, and doubtless one of the happiest too, — happy in an interesting and virtuous family, in a self-approving conscience, in an unblemished and exalted reputation, and an established fame, — happy in the possession of riches, of which no changes in the mercantile world could deprive him, — far happier in the total loss of outward wealth, than many are in its full enjoyment and constant accumulation.

No longer occupied by the cares of business, Mr. Roscoe devoted the remnant of his years and energies to literary undertakings. In the course of the year 1821 he published his "*Illustrations, Historical and Critical, of the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent,*" which was intended to vindicate the character of his favorite, and his own fidelity and accuracy as his biographer; and, nearly at the same time, he produced a little volume entitled a "*Memoir of Richard Roberts Jones, of Aberdaron, in the county of Car-*

narvon, in North Wales, exhibiting a remarkable instance of a partial power and cultivation of intellect." This person was one of those singular individuals of our race who sometimes appear among us, exciting our wonder by great intellectual capacity of a certain sort, and an almost idiotic deficiency in every thing beside. He was first introduced to Mr. Roscoe's notice in 1806, and in a letter to Dr. Parr he thus describes him.

"Your letter found me in conversation with one of the most extraordinary beings that ever occurred to my notice—a poor Welsh fisher lad, as ragged as a colt, and as uncouth as any being that has a semblance of humanity. But beneath such an exterior is a mind cultivated not only beyond all reasonable expectation, but beyond all probable conception. In his fishing-boat on the coast of Wales, at an age little more than twenty, he has acquired the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Latin languages, has read the *Iliad*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, &c., studied the refinements of Greek pronunciation, and examined the connexion of that language with the Hebrew. He reads Latin with the utmost facility, and translates it either into Welsh or English. I asked him whether he knew Italian? Yes, he could read it. I spoke to him in French,—he answered me, and we carried on our conversation in that language.

"He is well disposed, modest, truly pious, and intelligent, but in his exterior motions is certainly like no other creature on earth. He has just entered the room with a wallet of books in all languages, and on my speaking to him, he saluted me with a sort of curtsy, instead of a bow. Yet, the expression of his features speaks his mind; and if shaved and docked, he might not perhaps appear so frightful as at present."—pp. 215, 216.

Mr. Roscoe took this learned and forlorn being under his protection, but though he was never disappointed in his moral character, he never could teach him to apply his head or his hands to any thing useful, for that seemed to be totally beyond poor Richard's sphere. That his learning was really profound, appears from the following amusing anecdote of a conversation which he had with Dr. Parr, while the latter was on a visit to Allerton, in 1815.

"It was on a previous day, during the same visit, that Richard had an interview with Dr. Parr, who immediately plunged into the darkest recesses of ancient learning. The refinements of the Greek language, and the works of the critics who had illustrated it were entered into, and gradually the conversation

changed to the Hebrew, its peculiar construction and its analogous tongues. Here Richard had evidently the advantage; and, after an attempted inroad into the Chaldee, the Doctor rather precipitately retreated, leaving a token of his liberality in the hands of the poor scholar. Richard being afterwards asked what he thought of the learned person with whom he had been conversing, replied, 'He is less ignorant than most men.' " — pp. 219, 220.

Well said, honest Richard. Thy conscience would not permit thee to call the Doctor a great scholar or a learned man, for he was no match for thee in the old Hebrew and Chaldee tongues; — nevertheless, he did know something of the mysteries of Grecian prosody, and therefore thou didst candidly allow that he was "less ignorant than most men."

During the spring and summer of 1823, Mr. Roscoe was engaged in preparing a new edition of the works of Pope. In the same year he was chosen President of a Society which some gentlemen of Liverpool had formed for promoting the abolition of slavery, and drew up for them a Declaration of the objects of the Society, which was printed. In September, 1824, he lost his wife, with whom he had lived "upwards of forty years in uninterrupted confidence and harmony," and the shock was so great, that for a space of time his studies were laid aside.

In 1825, the edition of Pope's Works, with a new Life, appeared; and the editor had the manliness, — some might say the prudery, but we say the manliness and the high principle, — to omit some indelicate pieces which had been included in former editions. His views on this subject are thus stated.

" 'In performing the difficult task which has devolved upon the present editor, of determining what pieces ought to be admitted into this edition, as constituting "The Works of Pope," he has endeavoured to keep in view what he conceives to be the chief duty of an editor, viz. to execute an office which the author can no longer perform for himself, in the same manner as he would have performed it if living; admitting nothing that he would himself have rejected,* and rejecting nothing that he

* "Pope himself acted upon this principle with regard to his friend Gay. 'Our poor friend's papers are in my hands; and for as much as is so, I will take care to suppress things unworthy of him.' — *Life of Pope*, p. 368."

would have admitted ; not, however, disregarding the additional considerations suggested by the change which has taken place (so greatly for the better) in the sentiments and manners of the present times, and by which, it is probable that the author himself would have been equally influenced. On the whole, he has reason to believe that the differences which would have arisen between the author and himself on this head, would have been trivial, if any ; and that the great variation in this respect will appear between the two last editions of Dr. Warton and Mr. Bowles and the present.' " — pp. 258, 259.

About a year afterwards, Mr. Roscoe published new editions of "*Lorenzo*" and "*Leo X.*" in which he availed himself of the valuable notes which had been appended to those works by their foreign translators. And now he felt that his life must be drawing near to its close, and he resolved, like a wise man, to engage in nothing new, but to complete those undertakings which were yet unfinished. These were, a manuscript catalogue of Mr. Coke's library at Holkam, his correspondence with Americans on the subject of penitentiaries, and a work on the *Monandrian Plants*, which was issued in numbers, and which had already gained for him a high botanical reputation. His labors were interrupted, toward the close of the year 1827, by an attack of paralysis, a tendency to which had existed for a long time before. From this he gradually recovered, however, and lived to enjoy a few years more of domestic happiness, and to see his wishes as an author all fulfilled.

The fifteenth and last number of the splendid work on *Monandrian Plants* was printed in 1830, and the volume, being the closing labor of its author's powers, and treating of perhaps the most charming department of natural history, was fitly inscribed, not to any earthly friend, but to his and nature's God.

" ' God of the changeful year ! — amidst the glow
Of strength and beauty, and transcendent grace,
Which, on the mountain heights, or deep below,
In sheltered vales, and each sequestered place,
Thy forms of vegetable life assume,
— Whether thy pines, with giant arms display'd,
Brave the cold north, or, wrapt in eastern gloom,
Thy trackless forests sweep, a world of shade ;
Or whether, scenting ocean's heaving breast,
Thy odoriferous isles innumerable rise ;

Or, under various lighter forms imprest,
 Of fruits, and flowers, thy works delight our eyes;
 God of all life! whate'er those forms may be,
 O! may they all unite in praising Thee! " "

— pp. 301, 302.

There is nothing in the above lines to remind us, that nearly eighty years had passed over the writer's head, and that he had suffered from a disorder, which, above all others, is wont to impair the intellectual capacity.

"Mr. Roscoe," says his biographer, "might now almost be said to be *ultimus suorum*. He had survived not only the companions of his youth, but most of the friends of his maturer years." Holden and Rigby, Currie and Clarke, had long since been gone. Rathbone, Parr, Aikin, Fuseli, and more lately Sir J. E. Smith had followed them. He himself did not sit waiting long, after the departure of the last named friend. We should wrong our readers, were we to give an account of the last days and last moments of him whom we may call *our* friend, in any other words than those of his son.

"During the spring of the year 1831, there was little alteration in Mr. Roscoe's health, though it was obvious that he was becoming more and more feeble, and that any fresh attack of illness must prove eminently dangerous. He still continued to enjoy the society of his family, and of the friends who occasionally visited him; and when the weather permitted, he sometimes walked for a few minutes in his small garden, where he watched, with much pleasure, the progress of his few favorite flowers. He was fully sensible how very frail the tenure of his life had become; and as he stood, a short time before his last attack of illness, admiring the beauty of a border of white lilies, he remarked that, perishable as they were, they would probably survive him. But no feeling of dejection was mingled with these thoughts. A few weeks before his death, in a conversation with his friend and physician, Dr. Traill, he spoke calmly of his increasing feebleness and probable early dissolution. 'He thanked the Almighty for having permitted him to pass a life of much happiness, which, though somewhat checkered by vicissitude, has been, on the whole, one of great enjoyment; and he trusted that he should be enabled cheerfully to resign it whenever it pleased God to call him.' "

"In this tranquil and happy frame of mind he continued to

"* Dr. Traill's Memoir."

the last. Towards the conclusion of the month of June he suffered from a severe attack of the prevailing influenza, from which he appeared to have partially recovered, when, on the evening of Monday the 27th of June, while listening to a letter which one of his sons was reading to him, containing an account of the progress of the Reform Bill, he was suddenly seized with a violent fit of shivering, accompanied by an almost total prostration of strength. He was, with difficulty, conveyed to his bed, from which he never again rose. At this trying hour, that confidence in the goodness of God, and that submission to His will, which had supported him in every vicissitude of his life, did not desert him, and he resigned himself, without one murmur, to the change which he well knew was near at hand. While yet able, with difficulty, to make himself understood, he said to Dr. Traill, — ‘Some people suffer much in dying; I do not suffer.’ On the morning of Wednesday he indistinctly inquired from his highly valuable medical attendant, Mr. Bickersteth, his opinion with regard to his situation; and, on receiving his reply, he took leave of him with affectionate composure, by extending to him his hand. Soon afterwards he became unable, from weakness, to articulate, though he retained his senses till within an hour of his death, which took place at eleven o’clock, on Thursday morning, the 30th of June. The immediate cause of his death was an effusion of water into the chest.” — pp. 319, 320.

Thus passed away from earth one, who was not “of the earth, earthy”; one of those whom it does our souls good to remember, and still more good to imitate; one of those lovers of their brethren and lovers of God, whose lives we shall always take delight in recording, and whose names shine so purely above those which have only dazzled and deluded the world.

Mr. Roscoe left a family behind him, of six sons and two daughters. His literary tastes have descended to them all, and more than his poetical talents is the portion of his daughters. The following lines by one of them on her father’s seventieth birth-day, shall conclude our imperfect notice.

“Full seventy years, my father, on thy head
Have showered their aged honors; yet thy sun
Is bright and fresh as when it first begun,
And on the admiring world its influence shed.
O! long, and glad, and genial be its light,
And calm and blessed be its setting ray;
For thou hast in the labor of the day

Obey'd thy Master's call ; and in the right
Thy voice was ever heard, from youth's green prime :
And foremost was thy bosom in the strife,
For all the good that can ennoble life,
Against oppression, tyranny, and crime :
Yes! freedom, virtue, and the good man's fame
Shall ever shed their light around thine honored name."
— pp. 357, 358.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. II.—*Spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures.*—No. II.
Temptation, Sin, and Punishment.

WE closed our last article with some remarks upon the origin of evil, taking the subject in a metaphysical point of view. But what is more practically important, is the history of its origin as a matter of fact, in the individual souls in which it is manifested. For few men are capable of bringing metaphysical truths to bear upon their own lives ; or, in other words, few men are in such habits of mind, that general truths fructify in their thoughts, even though they do assent to them when presented as matters of opinion.

This was especially the case in the age of Moses ; and it is sufficiently so now for us to be able to appreciate the good sense and knowledge of human nature, which forms one of the claims of the Jewish lawgiver to being considered inspired ; for good sense, and knowledge of human nature, are the last products of the human mind, when developed in the natural way,—if we may believe the testimony of common experience.

But let us follow his own steps. When he wishes to bring home to the minds of his readers the fact, that moral evil was assumed upon the nature of man by his own acts, and subsequently to his being "created upright," he wisely selects the first sin of the first beings created ; not that it was the greatest, but that it was the simplest case of moral evil on historical record ; indeed the simplest case that could be imagined. As we reflect upon it, we shall see that it is peculiarly fortunate for the illustration of human frailties.

Each one of us may learn from it, by analogy, the history of his own individual fall. But in order to understand the temptation and the sin, we must inquire into the primitive condition of man, from our sole authority for this age.

Moses describes this condition by a beautiful sketch, or more properly, by a finished painting. "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." (Then follows a geographical description.) "And the Lord God commanded the man saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die."

Some think that Moses meant to express, in a graphic manner, by this passage, that, besides plenty and beauty, which were poured around man, that his body might continue and grow, there was also given a means for his soul's expansion and growth; — the tree of life perhaps designating extraordinary effusions of God's spirit, (and that by an oriental mind this would be easily understood): while temptation in general is expressed in the figure of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; especially, perhaps, the temptations to the indulgence of the lower appetites.

But perhaps a more literal interpretation would be quite as philosophical.

Supposing that man was called upon to deny himself the pleasure of eating of a tree, which was very desirable in appearance, is there not an apparent adaptation to the circumstances in the institution of such a sacrifice? Though a man in reason (as is implied in God's having given him a command), yet he must have been an infant in understanding,* — thoughtless, — inexperienced, — weak in moral power. And was not this sacrifice adapted to such a being? Was it not in the direct line of those thoughts and feelings, which must necessarily have constituted a large portion of his consciousness; viz. the bliss of new found existence, — the en-

* *Reason and understanding* are used here according to their old meanings, i. e. in the same sense in which Coleridge uses them.

joyment of his appetites? Since the soul unfolds its powers by being exercised in reflection on the designs of its existence, and the purposes of God respecting it, was it not peculiarly fit, that what was to call him to reflection and internal effort, should be placed in the midst of what interested him as a physical being? The tree might have been a very common one, one that he could not avoid continually seeing: that it was the most beautiful and desirable, might serve to teach him, that the principle, for the sake of which he sacrificed, was infinitely beyond the most beautiful thing of material creation in value. Thus, the not eating of the fruit would excite and assist the spirit within, reminding it of God's interest in individual man, — and serving all those purposes, which outward worship is intended to serve in all ages of the world.

We cannot say of the command "not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil," as we did of the command "to have dominion," — that it is the germ of all religion. On the contrary, it is a specific direction, the design of which was, to assist the divine instinct of self-respect, which is the universal revelation; and, as such, it is a proof of divine wisdom. If man were a purely spiritual being, natural religion, i. e. the laws of his nature, recognised by reason and the heart, might have sufficed him. But his life is not a mere consciousness of first principles. He is operated upon by the external, and himself reacts; and religion must address him with some other voice than the deep one in the soul. Hence the blessing of specific duties, — something *to do*, which may enlist his animal nature and active powers, in alliance with the inward sentiment for the same end. The value of the prohibition to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, consists in its adaptation to the existing state of circumstances. Suppose Adam had obeyed this command, and afterwards had been placed in new circumstances. His own judgment, or perhaps more specific directions of God, would still have imposed on him other sacrifices and other self-denial, until his soul was sufficiently elevated for the fruition of heaven.

It is important to learn, however, to make the distinction between general principles and specific directions. Not making the distinction has led to superstition and bigotry; and, moreover, has made the commandment of God of no effect

on thousands, by whom general truth was professedly revered. These specific directions are not of universal obligation; but they are not to be undervalued. The wisest are not all the time elevated into the sphere of general truth. A voice must come from the earth beneath, warning man not to grovel upon it, which may be heard when the head is drooping, and the sun of the intellectual firmament obscured by the shadow of our own recumbent body. For want of these specific directions, addressing the active nature of man, the sublime speculations of the wise have generally failed of practical effect, even on those few who have admitted them; and they have entirely soared over, without touching, the minds of the multitude. Moses has united the two modes of developement. The more deeply men have reflected on their nature, the more have the wisest learned to feel, that man must *act* in order to be pure in heart,—that to do good is the road to goodness. Even a consciousness of connexion with the Creator has been in vain to those, who have not equally cultivated a sense of connexion with their fellow beings. The things of time act, as well as are acted upon;—the balance of action and reaction must be kept up. Man must not only contemplate the Deity, but must coöperate in his ceaseless action, sacrificing lower enjoyments whenever they interfere, if he would be a son of God. If this be true, how wise was Moses, who, before there had been experience of the effects of various systems, yet so simply and unassumingly stated the true method of cultivation! And the form in which he does it is also remarkable.

The temptation, the fall, the sense of condemnation, are all represented, in the living colors of poetry, a dramatic scene. These colors and this scene have given rise to various explanations, and some have been more subtle than the case demanded. Moses was indeed expressing intellectual and moral truth by pictures, but it is not necessary to suppose that he used allegory. His object was not to disguise truth, but to give it a medium, which should attract the attention by waking up the imagination. It may be that facts were the materials, out of which he formed his picture. A serpent may have eaten of the apple. Its characteristic subtlety might have struck the mind of Eve, as connected with this food. Dwelling upon the subject is aptly enough described as parleying with the tempter. The first yielding of

the good principle, though only so far as to question the expediency of obeying the divine direction, gives the lower propensities too much sway ;—they conquer ;—retribution commences, — more keenly felt, perhaps, because contrasted with the previous innocence ;—and Paradise is lost.

The fact stated as the immediate cause of Adam's sin, is so simple and natural, that it could receive no liveliness from poetry. "And she gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat." He might have sympathized in all that went before ; or, if he did not, we may see the effect of the mere example of the loved upon the unprepared heart.

Moses was certainly not writing to a people skeptical from philosophical speculation, but only skeptical, if they ever were so, from stupidity and sensuality ; therefore it would be strange if his narrative were guarded against philosophical doubts. But, keeping this in mind, let us proceed to consider the subject philosophically, and we shall find, that for poetry, it bears a remarkable scrutiny, such a scrutiny, that we may be led to feel it has solid truth for its foundation.

Do any make objection to this account of the introduction of evil into the world ? Do they say that it implicates the Deity, and supposes that he places stumblingblocks at the very threshold of existence ?

But it was not the very threshold of existence. The command was known before the temptation occurred. The man was told that his spirit was the object of God's love, and that temptation was to come to his animal nature.

When he saw this tree, and especially the serpent eating of it, what would be the state of his mind ? On the one hand, appetite would excite the emotion of desire ; on the other, conscience would set the divine command ; and the balance, you will say, is equal. Not at all so. There has been a preparation of mind before, and according to what this has been, will the event now be. Has he, then, endeavoured to strengthen his spiritual nature ? Has he meditated on his origin ? Has he often recalled the truth, that he was created sovereign over all things which he saw, and increased the intuition of self-respect into a habit of mind ? Has he lifted his heart to the Creator of spirits, and thanked him fervently for spiritual existence, and increased the emotion of gratitude into the sentiment of devotion ? Has he employed his intellect in detecting the designs of the Deity, and the attributes

impressed on the exterior of the material creation, so that every object has become to his eye a minister of religion?

Or has he allowed the command of God to pass away from his recollection; has he indolently enjoyed his animal being, without inquiring into the source of enjoyment, or the mysteries of his own spirit; has he allowed the emotion of gratitude to slumber, a latent spark; and not used his intellect to seek for the designs of the Creator in nature?

If the latter is the case, then there is no hope; for time has gone on, and if he has not employed it in fortifying his mind, it has employed itself in strengthening the animal propensities. The soul increases by exercise; and unless it will exercise itself and bring around itself the spiritual world, which is its sustaining energy, — its vivifying atmosphere, — the earthly and worldly part of us gains the mastery; for the earth and world are around us in spite of ourselves, and will do their work, unless they are resisted.

“Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own;
The homely nurse does all she can
To make her foster-child, her inmate, man
Forget the glories he has known,
And that imperial palace whence he came.”

The revelation of his nature, if it had been attended to, would, by producing self-respect, or reverence for his soul, have prevented his remaining in temptation. A strong feeling of gratitude, growing from the habit of worshipping in spirit, would have quickened him to reply to the tempter. “No; all that I know of God is goodness, tenderness. He is too great to fear a rival; and, besides, I cannot but believe, that his prohibitions are the result of kindness, since every thing that I do know, without exception, evinces it in a boundless degree.” A habit of thoughtfulness, also, would have disarmed the temptation of its powers; — for it did not require reasoning faculties beyond those of an intelligent child, to see, in this command, God’s purpose of strengthening the soul’s power “to have dominion,” by giving it a field of exercise.

By the help of this preparation, for which he must have had time, he could have resisted. And resistance would have carried his whole soul a step forward in its progress, and the temptation would have become the means of his progress and not of his fall; — the stumblingblock would

have been the steppingstone. And when his mind was raised, we cannot doubt, God would have poured into it new light. We cannot suppose he meant to keep man ignorant. He would develop the religious principle before he would put into his hands the instrument of knowledge, by which he might wound himself and others. The *tree of life* may be a figurative expression for the means of communicating this new light. Had man resisted the temptation, his eyes might have opened to these means, and he have become fitted for a new mode of existence, — and, like Enoch and Elijah, have been raised to the enjoyment of it, without passing through the dark valley of the shadow of death. Or, according to a more literal interpretation, the tree of life might have been a real tree, the fruit of which was to make a gradual change in the physical organization, until man became an inhabitant of a celestial body, and consequently unconfined to the narrow bounds of earth, which is to pass away, “like a scroll that is rolled together.” The precise interpretation is of little consequence, — the general inference from either interpretation is the same.

Adam’s overt act of disobedience to the specific command of God was merely a manifestation to himself and others, of the state of his character. It proved that he had not obeyed the divine instinct of preserving dominion over transitory things. It proved that he had been thoughtless, that he had not availed himself of the privilege of communion with God in prayer, that he was ungrateful, and consequently that he was weak.

If this lesson can be drawn from the history of the fall of the first man, what a proof it is of the wisdom of Moses! How much superior to any theory of the origin of evil which has been proposed in subsequent ages, were these simple facts! The inference from these facts, who may not see? These circumstances could hardly occur again in the history of the race, but analogous circumstances must occur in the history of every individual. Whatever is inferred from it, then, is general truth.

Let us apply this general truth to the circumstances of the present age.

Is not the child committed to our care, really in Eden? Does not “the sunshine of the breast,” “the tear forget as soon as shed,” constitute Eden. And does not the advance

into intelligence reveal the command "to have dominion"? Who that has ever observed a child, has not witnessed it?

But the child is below Adam in one privilege. The sense of power is not accompanied, in the child, with an intellectual consciousness of its author. There is, however, a thirst connected with his sense of power, for which it is the business of education to provide the waters of life,—the knowledge of God. Let him be taught the existence of God, his Creator, whose spiritual nature he may be led to understand by the analogy of his own mind and heart; let him be told, that his destiny is to resemble that Creator even in the high prerogative of power. There are means of inducting these truths into young minds, and the information will find a response within. It would be well afterwards, but not at first, to call the attention to external objects, as exponents of the Creator's attributes, and to help the child to form those associations, which will make matter and circumstance stepping-stones to heaven. Such a course would have strengthened Adam;—we may be allowed to doubt whether he pursued it.

It should be remembered, also, that it is important to call the attention, at first, to religious views of external objects, much more than to any other views. We find God would develop the religious principle before he provided means for the acquisition of natural knowledge. Let this principle never be lost sight of in education,—to keep moral objects above all other objects of the mind. A real reception of moral truth is the only security against the abuse of all other truths.

And since man is ever an active being, we must come to specific directions as to what he must do. In the multitude of these, what are to be selected for the child?

If he is yet innocent, or not far from innocence, point out to him in the garden of his life the forbidden fruit. Explain to him what he must not do; his sacrifices will be small,—the not eating of an apple;—but point out to him that these restraints are imposed, lest he should lose or harden his conscience by not thinking of it, and you will give these little sacrifices importance in his eyes. Show him, too, that the design of God in giving him duties, is not to throw a stumbling-block in his way, but to enable him to prepare his mind beforehand with the strength to resist temptation and grasp spiritual good. If the truth, that *the effectual resistance to*

temptation is not so much the result of the struggle of the moment, as of the preparation of the past, be made a persuasion of his mind, it will be of infinite service to him. If he is made to understand, that "to the pure all things are pure," he will see the utility of the habit of thinking of God, and multiplying religious associations, amidst the works of nature, and the pleasures as well as the sorrows of life.

Specific directions must vary according to circumstances ; but the principle on which they are founded is never to be lost sight of. When the child is far from the state of innocence, common sense will suffice, with the aid of light from the examples in revelation, to form specific rules by which to bring him back to a state of innocence, i. e. to a vivid and powerful state of conscience ; for what is powerful conscience but the recollections of innocence ?

A few remarks must be made upon the circumstance that Eve is named as the immediate tempter of Adam. Was this to imply the power of the example of the familiar, and especially of the loved ?

Whether Moses meant to speak of this influence or not, there is no doubt a great influence, an unmeasured influence, exerted by example. And if this power of one over another is a stumblingblock to virtue, may not a consciousness of this power, on the other hand, become a sense of responsibility, most elevating in its influence ?

The influence of example may be estimated when we consider, not merely a national character, which has so many causes that the effect of one can hardly be defined, — but if we consider family character, sectarian character, or any character produced by association. A great deal of good, undoubtedly, springs from our susceptibility to this influence. But it is an influence below the spirit of God. We should always, therefore, question it by the light of that spirit. Adam should have done so ; — had he done so, perhaps he would not have fallen.

If then we may confide in Moses, as displaying the principles upon which Providence governs the world, and if it is not unreasonable to think it wise to apply the same principles to the successive stages of individual character, which were applied to the successive stages of the development of the race, we may derive from this narrative, that the first principle of cultivation is *to reverence the soul, by*

and through a sense of its Creator ; and that the true method of discipline is, to put the soul into a state of progress, by making it act on the view of preparing to resist temptation ; — while pure example, as a moral atmosphere, is most desirable. These are great truths, speculative and practical ; has time developed any which have superseded them ?

But let us go on with Moses. Having painted Creation and moral obligation in general, the specific command of God, and temptation and sin, he proceeds to paint retribution ; and, truly metaphysical as the whole lesson is, he was laid under a necessity, by the divine wisdom with which he was inspired, to paint it. Therefore the internal sense of self-reproach, and the discord which sin makes in the “music of the spheres,” are all put into a dialogue ; and otherwise Moses would not have met the mind of the age for which he was writing.

And what are the words of condemnation, which he has put into the mouth of God ? A statement of facts, which must have been as true before the temptation and fall, as they were afterwards. The serpent was to creep on his belly, and eat dust ; mankind to depend physically on each other, and contend with obstacles ; — and the dust of the body was to mingle again with the dust from which it was taken.

Where then was the condemnation ? Was it not this ; — that man, through abuse of his freedom, was changed, so that what was Paradise to him once, became without change of circumstances, “a working-day world” ? There are some arguments for this. In the first place, from our own experience ; — though we are not born into Paradise, who has not felt, that, from each of us, “there hath passed away a glory from the earth,” which is never restored but in those bright moments, when, in the spirit of Christian faith, we see the “New Jerusalem descending out of heaven” ?

But to go to the narrative, and to reason from thence exclusively. Moses was writing for a people, who felt evils and sufferings to be so mixed with the advantages of the social state, as often to neutralize them all ; who felt difficulty to be inevitable ; and who said “Dust returns to dust,” — and looked no farther. This was always one aspect even of Paradise, the aspect to the eye of sense ; and when the eye of sense became paramount, the celestial aspect of Par-

adise was lost on the earth. Moses represented all this by stating things as they were actually existing in his days, and leaving the lesson to be enforced by the associations with which all earthly things were clothed to human eyes and the human heart. The whole effect of his narrative was, to carry imagination back to the period, before the abuse of man's free agency had introduced unharmonized affections into the social relations,—indolence and want of spring into the soul, which was viewing the necessity of exertion,—and the sting unto death. The narrative would tell more or less painfully on the heart, as the individual hearer's own weakness or sense of sin gave meaning to the words. In showing that the evils of human life were foreign to human nature,—in expressing, that they were evils relatively to the conception of the weak or sinful only, by having drawn mankind innocent, and called his condition Paradise,—he gave a stimulus to the recovery of that “glorious heritage, which, though lost, may be won, and with interest.”

Let us now examine the previous words of condemnation, and see if we have reason to think they meant change of circumstances. In the first place the serpent is condemned. But here we cannot suppose was change of circumstances. He is represented to be confined to a particular sphere; to which, however, we know that he was confined before; and the race of man is said to be above him in destiny, and so we know it was before. Besides, could there have been a moral retribution for the serpent? Was the fruit forbidden to him? Or was he responsible for the effect of his own appropriate actions upon the conduct of his lord and master, man? Had he, in short, any mind to feel retribution? The condemnation of the serpent is to be considered as an embellishment of the style,—a clause put in to complete the dramatic unity of the poem.

In the second place, mankind are condemned to depend physically on each other, and to suffer;—especially woman, who is most dependent, physically at least. But what reason have we for supposing that the social state was altered in its circumstances? Can we not feel, by a moment's reflection, that this same social state, supposing man was not weak or sinful, could not be better constituted for promoting the purest happiness, and a continually progressing virtue? Pain was introduced into the social state, when spiritual ac-

tivity ceased, and the harmony of innocence was lost ; since human beings, in such close contact as the social relations bring them into, must jar against each other's faults, if they have faults. There are other effects of sin upon the social state, which have grown either directly or indirectly out of it, and therefore may have been included in the "pain," which Moses describes as belonging to life after the fall. There is an effect produced in the physical organization of man, by want of moral regulation, which is felt through successive generations. This does not, however, produce unmingled evil. The variety of forbidden fruit which has thus been introduced into the garden of life, excites the intellectual powers of man ; and according as these are engaged against evil, is he raised in the scale of intelligence, which leads into moral life.

From this disadvantageous effect of the physical dependence of mankind on each other, it is possible our Saviour may have been exempted, in order to his being qualified for the unparalleled duty laid upon him. The circumstances of his birth were miraculous. Yet these circumstances seem hardly to be recognised in the Gospels, and are never referred to after they are first mentioned. This leads to the inference that the whole miracle was intended especially for Mary. And the effect on her mind, if it was intended, was admirably calculated to neutralize all other influences ever exerted on it, and through it, on the body of her child. And since it was the purpose of God to lay on him "the burden of the sins of the whole world," i. e. to give him the great work of redeeming the race, by the manifestation of his mind in word and action, it seems but just that he should have had the physical possibility of not passing through the slightest moral evil, — at least equal to Adam's possibility, who had certainly no hereditary bias to evil. The next portion of the words of condemnation expresses the painfulness of exertion to fallen man, "in the sweat of the brow," &c. It is so evident that exertion is only painful to the weak, that it is not necessary to dwell on the uncircumstantialness of this part of the condemnation.

Death is the closing portion of the words of condemnation. But even here the change was not circumstantial, else we have gained even by the fall ; for who would live on earth for ever ? The change was still within the soul. Death

becomes frightful as the eye of sense becomes paramount to the eye of faith. This part of the curse is represented very powerfully. A flaming sword and cherubim are placed between man and the tree of life. That the tree of life was not annihilated, Jesus has proved. He encountered the flaming sword and cherubim, and opened the way to the life-giving tree, to all his followers ; — and thousands are eating of it every day, and “ death is swallowed up in victory.”

Thus did Moses, in all the brilliant coloring of poetry and the liveliness of drama, express, that the sinfulness of man, (and that alone) has given a painful aspect to the circumstances of human life. He does not express, however, that men were reduced by sin to such a state, as to be no longer the objects of God’s interest ; or, that it is anywhere hinted, that they had lost their power of growing in favor with him by doing his will and progressively more exactly ; and, we would ask, when the books of Moses constituted the whole Scriptures, could it be said with any coloring of evidence, that the Scriptures taught the total and hereditary moral depravity of man ? And, if they did not, can the doctrine be considered as a fundamental and eternal truth, “ the same yesterday, to-day, and forever,” the acknowledgment of which is essential to the commencement of virtue, — *the first step* in the spiritual life ?

But, although it be true that man could be turned out of Paradise without change of circumstances, is he now born into Paradise, and, if good, can he grow up in Paradise ; and why not ?

We answer, that the introduction of evil into the world, by giving a new aspect to the social state, and the moral and physical dependence of man on man, has affected the race, “ as a race.” Even “ the express image ” of the perfection of God, inasmuch as he was a man, “ was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.” We have spoken already of the complication of temptation, by the physical dependence of successive generations. Another way in which the introduction of evil has affected the race is this ; — the moral influence exerted by our fellow creatures is not pure, and although the influence of Jesus, in the end, may more than balance all others, yet the influence of others gets the start, since it is exerted before the mind is advanced enough to receive his gospel, which is to neutralize the influence of others. This

moral influence of our fellow creatures is not, it is probable, strong enough, ever, to turn the scale of character, if an individual's own power is exerted; but it is strong enough to give still new varieties to the forbidden fruit. It is, however, to be observed, that as a mind is highly gifted, it is less influenced by this disadvantage of the social state. Nor should this be otherwise, since it has a greater responsibility. And it is more than probable that Jesus, whose powers of mind were as boundless as his responsibilities, was altogether, at every period of his life, beyond this disadvantage.

Some have supposed, that Adam transmitted a moral taint, strong enough to turn the scale. This is the common doctrine of original sin. But there is an objection to this, drawn from the nature of his mind. Every one is conscious that what constitutes his moral existence, is independent of every source but his Creator. His powers of thought and his emotions, as well as his will, and his conscience, are his own; he feels that they can be ascribed to no ancestry; that they are the immediate expressions of the goodness of his Creator towards himself, as an individual.

There is, besides the two abovementioned ways, still another, in which the introduction of evil into the social state has influenced, and must always influence the race, as a race, more or less. It has made the state of probation a state of suffering, if not by consciousness of evil, by sympathy with those who incur it. So much is our happiness bound up in one another, that though "the dayspring from on high has visited us," the very circumstance of sin's being in the world, has cast "the shadow of the valley of death" on us, and man cannot pass among his brethren, without feeling the night-chill of the atmosphere of moral evil. Heaven dawns upon us in Christianity; but the sun rises not into full view "till this mortal hath put on immortality." Even he who "was without sin" proved himself in this also of the race of Adam. He wept over Jerusalem; he "groaned in spirit and was troubled" at the want of faith of his disciples; he sweat "drops of blood" in his agony, when about to encounter the fury of the multitude for whose moral good he was ready to die; and, in view of the cross, he was constrained to pray, "Father, if thou wilt, let this cup pass from me."

The questions now arise, "How can the introduction of evil into the social state have affected the race, without in-

terfering with the free agency of individuals, and placing an unconquerable obstacle to each one's accomplishing his own destiny? How, in the progress of changes, has the balance been held even by God, so that the free will (i. e. personal activity) of man has alone had power to turn the scale?"

The answer is, that the mind of man has made progress in intellectual power, in the course of ages, according to that law of nature, by which as "one man dies, other men enter into the fruit of his labors,"—and that the complication of temptations excites intellectual exertions for moral power; warnings and experience have accumulated also, as evil influences have multiplied. And in these latter times (which will come in due time to be considered only as a different shade of that antiquity into which our conceptions throw Moses), a moral influence has been poured upon the race by God, through Jesus Christ, which will counterbalance all conceivable complication and accumulation of evil influences from the rest of our race. And this seems to have been foreseen by Moses, who states, that by the social relations, "the seed of the woman," shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

The moral condition of man is therefore as much in his own power now, as it ever was in Adam's power; and he may, by using the means of grace, which have been granted to the wants of the fallen, raise himself to a higher state, than that in which Adam was created. There are, indeed, internal conflicts and temptations, which are utterly independent of all the circumstances we have noted, and which are different to each individual. These arise from the necessity of balancing our internal affections; and to this species of temptation Jesus was undoubtedly exposed in proportion to the immeasurable strength of those faculties and sensibilities, which raised him to his office, but which first grew into wisdom, and "into the favor of God," and "through suffering were trained into obedience."

We have now gone over the outlines of Moses' narrative. There are some fine touches of his pencil, full of meaning,—such as the excuses the parties are made to offer, the shame which they feel, &c.; but we cannot dwell upon every stroke of the master. We have found in this narrative an implied theory of the origin of moral evil, and the nature of retribution, which seems to us to be consistent with the

brighter light thrown upon the subject by Christianity. This is enough to prove its inspiration, to the mind of a reflecting person.

It is worth while to remark, however, that the history of Adam is not referred to again in the books of the Old Testament, and only for the sake of a figure, now and then, in the New,—though theologians have made so much of it in their books. And although we may derive from it, that sin has taken the character of Paradise from the mere circumstances of human life, yet we are not authorized to derive from it, that the race, or the earth, were absolutely cursed in themselves. Even the social state is still a blessing, and the evils that have been introduced into it, may become steppingstones to the highest virtue; as they proved to *him* who looked upon them in the spirit of God, and acted on their great principle, i. e. on the design of God in instituting them,—loving unto death, and conquering the flaming sword in the very eye of sense, and opening to the believer the tree of life, where all may now go and take up the fruit and eat. Moreover, even without the light of Christianity, it is impossible for man in his sound mind to regret that he is a social being; for all his happiness, nay, all his conceptions of happiness centre in the social principle.

Great general truths, however, though not the doctrine of reprobation, are contained in the Mosaic account of the curse. 1st. The nature of the mind is such, that *sin when realized, is painful, and sufficiently so to be its own remedy*; and, 2dly, God has so ordered the conditions of social existence, that *retribution is felt from the very same circumstances, which are the best possible arrangements for the promotion of the happiness of the innocent and good*. Let us not lose sight of these truths in our own institutions and plans for the cultivation of the human soul; and when we wish to anticipate the retributions of Heaven, let us do it by raising vivid conceptions of truth and goodness, through the recollections of innocence, the intuitions of conscience, a wide view of providence, and especially by the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

ART. III. — *Christologie des Alten Testaments, und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten.* Von E. W. HENGSTENBERG, &c.

Christology of the Old Testament, and Commentary upon the Prophecies relating to the Messiah. By Dr. E. W. HENGSTENBERG, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Vol. I. Berlin. 1829.

HENGSTENBERG has been brought into notice, in this country, by translations of several portions of the work before us, in the Andover "Repository." He is a young man, distinguished in Germany chiefly for his zealous endeavours to resuscitate the dry bones of Lutheran orthodoxy, and his strenuous exertions to secure the aid of the powers that be, in favor of the cause or party to which his labors are devoted. From his writings one would suppose, that he had at least sufficient confidence in the correctness and stability of his opinions. But such a supposition it is not very easy to reconcile with the zeal, with which he endeavours to persuade the government of his country, that the cause of legitimacy and the cause of orthodoxy are inseparably connected.*

For the notice, which has been taken of him in this country, he is, we think, indebted in part to his orthodoxy, and in part to the important and difficult subject, upon which he has undertaken to write. That he has some pretensions to scholarship, we do not pretend to deny. He has, no doubt, made a diligent use of great opportunities for the acquisition of ancient languages. But it is evident that he possesses but a feeble capacity of reasoning concerning the meaning of words, or the relations of things. He is deficient in logical discrimination, judgment, and good sense. To those, who are in the habit of distinguishing words from things, and of weighing arguments, rather than counting them, he will prove a most unsatisfactory writer. Paulus himself is not a more extravagant theorist, than he is in his way. Had the prevalent bias of his mind enlisted him on the side of the Naturalists, our knowledge of him, if we had any, would probably have been derived from the quotations

* For some notice of the school or sect, to which he belongs, see the *Christian Examiner*, New Series, Vol. V. p. 348, *et seq.*

from his works, of here and there a sentence with three or four notes of admiration at the end.

It will be gathered from what we have said, that it is the importance of the subject upon which he has written, rather than the value of his work, which has led to the present notice of him. His work will answer a valuable purpose, if it conduce to a thorough examination of a subject, which, since the theory of a double sense has been exploded, has caused perplexity and anxiety to many minds. It is entitled "The Christology of the Old Testament," that is, as the title is illustrated by the work, "The application and interpretation of the passages relating to the Messiah, in the Old Testament." He undertakes to show what are the predictions of a Messiah, what nature and character they ascribe to him, and how they have been fulfilled in Jesus. The genuineness and antiquity of various portions of the Hebrew Scriptures are also connected with the discussion.

It is not a little remarkable, that no work, professing to treat of the subject in a scientific manner, and in its whole extent, is to be found in the English language. What has been written upon it, has been chiefly in the way of controversy with unbelievers; and has had for its object, to repel their attacks upon the Christian revelation, rather than to give a comprehensive and thorough exposition of facts, in all their relations. Most of the English works on the subject belong to the controversy, which, about a century ago, agitated the reading community of England, commencing with Collins's *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. Perhaps it may not be amiss to glance at some of the principal points of this controversy, and to take notice of the theory of Hengstenberg, as it comes in our way.

It was the object of Collins to show, 1st, That the fundamental article of the Christian Religion is, that Jesus is the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament, and that the proof of Christianity was by our Saviour and the writers of the New Testament made to depend upon the fulfillment of prophecies relating to the Messiah; 2dly, That these prophecies were, and could be, applied to Jesus only in a mystical or allegorical sense, and thus did not prove any thing, according to scholastic rules,—by which he means the rules of sound logic, or the dictates of reason; 3dly, That the kind of

reasoning adopted by the New Testament writers, or the manner in which they apply passages of the Old Testament, as proofs of Christianity, is not only unsatisfactory and groundless, but affords a positive argument against the divine authority of the Christian religion. These are the principal points of the controversy, stated with greater directness than in Collins's work, but evidently maintained by him. Many important questions, however, were incidental to it.

It is not surprising, that such a work, written with ability, and made attractive to some readers by considerable powers of sarcasm and wit, should produce a strong sensation, and call forth a host of writers in defence of the Christian faith. In his second work, "The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered," written in reply to several of his antagonists, Collins enumerates no less than thirty-five publications, many of them octavos, occasioned by his "Discourse, &c." Several others were afterwards called forth by his second work, abovementioned. The principal writers in opposition to Collins, were Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Litchfield, &c., in his "Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament," and his "Vindication of the Defence, &c.", in reply to "The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered"; Dr. Samuel Chandler, in his "Vindication of the Christian Religion"; Dr. Bullock, in his Seven Sermons, entitled "The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles in their Defence of Christianity, Considered"; Dr. Sykes, in his "Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion," and "The True Grounds of the Expectation of the Messiah"; Dr. Clarke, in his Discourse of the connexion of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ; Dr. Thomas Sherlock, in "The Use and Intent of Prophecy in different Ages of the Church"; Mr. Jeffery, in "A Review of the Controversy between the Author of the Discourse and his Adversaries," and "Christianity the Perfection of all Religions, &c."; Whiston in his "Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies," and several other publications.

In this country, the controversy was revived about twenty years ago, by the publication of George B. English, "The Grounds of Christianity examined, by comparing the New Testament with the Old"; which called forth the work of

Mr. Everett, "A Defence of Christianity, against the Work of George B. English."

And what was the result of this controversy? Was the united talent of the English theologians sufficient to clear up the difficulties of the subject? That it was not, is evident from the great variety of inconsistent schemes, on which the replies to Collins were founded; from the fact, that the controversy has been repeated in Germany within the last fifty years; from the results of this controversy, and from the unsettled state of opinion upon the subject in this country. Still, the English writers convicted Collins of many errors, and illustrated some important points.

1. It was shown by Dr. Bullock and others, that the fundamental article of the Christian religion is, not that Jesus was the predicted Messiah, but that he was an inspired prophet, a teacher sent from God, speaking the words of God, to whom God gave his spirit without measure, and who proved by miracles, that his doctrines and precepts were worthy of all acceptance.*

There is, evidently, just ground for such a distinction. For, that Jesus was an inspired prophet, a teacher sent from God, is proved by miracles, in connexion with a doctrine worthy of the divine interposition to reveal. For the proof of this proposition, miracles addressed to the senses of the contemporaries of Jesus, and transmitted to us by contemporaneous history, are the best species of evidence we can imagine. The proof is complete, and would be so, though we knew nothing of such a book as the Old Testament. But in order to prove the proposition, that Jesus sustained a particular character, namely, that of a Messiah described and predicted in the Old Testament, it may be admitted that miracles are not suitable evidence. They are not evidence appropriate to the subject. In order to settle the question, whether the character and life of Jesus fulfilled particular predictions relating to a Messiah in the Hebrew Scriptures, the proper mode of proceeding evidently is, to compare this life and character with such predictions. Here seems to be no place for miracles, but only for common sense in the interpretation of the language of such predictions, and in comparing

* See Bullock's Seven Sermons, p. xix., *et seq.*

the character and fortunes of Jesus with the results of such interpretation. *Nec deus intersit, &c.* It is an unworthy supposition, that God should give certain predictions, as marks by which a certain future messenger of his will should be known, in language so obscure as to require an inspired person to interpret it. In such a case, prophecy would resolve itself into the testimony of the interpreter, as a new revelation. It would not be distinct and independent evidence. It is easy to ask the question, Is not the interpretation of an inspired person more to be depended on than our own? But a person may be inspired to a certain extent, and yet not inspired as an interpreter. Besides, the necessity of such interpretation is inconsistent with the alleged nature and purpose of prophecy, as independent evidence. A prophecy depending for its interpretation upon an inspired expositor, is nothing more nor less than a new revelation from such an expositor, and not an ancient prediction. Before the inspiration of the interpreter is proved, the prophecy is useless, and after this is proved, it is needless.

Thus may be seen the importance of distinguishing between two propositions, which are often confounded, namely, that Jesus is the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament, and that he is a teacher sent from God. They rest for support on entirely different kinds of evidence. The former is a question of interpretation and comparison. The latter rests on the evidence of miracles, and the records of history.

But though miracles are inappropriate evidence to prove the fulfillment of prophecy, may not the fulfillment of prophecy be useful for the confirmation, or essential to the existence, of faith in Jesus?

At first view, prophecy fulfilled seems better adapted to prove the authority of the author, than of the subject, of it. If Cyrus was predicted as the restorer of the Jews to their country, he is not thereby proved to have divine authority, though the prediction, if miraculous, proves the divine legation of the prophet.

It is true, however, that if a person, in whom a supernatural prophecy is clearly fulfilled, *claims* to be a divine messenger, the fulfillment of the prediction seems to be such an interposition of the Deity in his favor as sanctions his claims, and the proof becomes conclusive if the prophet declare his divine authority as a teacher. But then there are several

things to be proved in this case ; namely, the genuineness and antiquity of the prediction, and the facts that he, to whom the prediction is said to relate, claimed to be a divine messenger, and that the predictions were fulfilled in him in such a sense as to imply miraculous foreknowledge in the prophet. Miracles wrought by the person, who makes the claim to divine authority, seem a closer, and more convenient mode of proving it. Besides, unless the prediction relate to actions or events in their nature miraculous, there will always be room for the suspicion of mere coincidence of certain actions or events with the prediction, and for the objection, that one person may be said to fulfill it as well as another.

Had any one of the prophets been the author of such a sentence as this, "A great religious teacher shall arise in Judea, who shall prove his mission from God by raising the dead to life, and other miracles, and who, after being put to death by his enemies, shall have his own life restored to him upon this earth," — such a prediction might strengthen the conviction arising from the historical proof of those miracles. Nor would there, in regard to miraculous actions or events, be any ground for the common remark, that predictions could not be perfectly clear without danger of frustration from free agents.

Now as no prophet, when fairly expounded, seems to ascribe any thing miraculous to the Messiah, and as all of them seem to have spoken and written for the benefit of their contemporaries, we cannot but doubt whether prophecy was ever intended to afford direct and positive evidence of the divine mission of Jesus.

But if Jesus claimed, not only to be a divine messenger, but to be the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament, or if this latter claim were advanced by his Apostles, will not the failure to make the latter claim good, be fatal to the former claim? Will it not show that there is something unsound in the evidence, by which his claim to divine authority was supposed to be supported? This was admitted by the opponents of Collins. None of them had thought of the hypothesis that Jesus might have used the language of the times to set forth his claims to faith and obedience, without meaning to assert that, as a person, he had been the subject of particular predictions.

Accordingly all the opponents of Collins felt that the

authority of the Christian religion was connected with the proof of the proposition, that some predictions had been literally and properly fulfilled in Jesus. To the production of such proof, therefore, they directed their efforts.

In this part of the subject we are obliged to confess that we fail to receive satisfaction from the opponents of Collins, and, we may add, from other writers, who have undertaken to prove the fulfillment in Jesus of predictions relating, or supposed to relate, to a Messiah. We are, therefore, unwilling to admit that the truth of the Christian religion does in any sense depend upon the literal fulfillment of any predictions in the Old Testament by Jesus, as a person. We regard Christianity as supported by the intrinsic value of its doctrines and precepts, and their adaptation to the wants and weaknesses of mankind, and by the facts recorded in the gospel history; by the life, death, and resurrection of our Saviour. The Hebrew prophecies do not add any thing to the strength of our conviction arising from the historical evidence, that Jesus was a teacher sent from God. We should be sorry to suppose that this evidence would be affected by any view, which can be taken of the connexion between the Old Testament and the New; even by that view, which supposes that there are no proper predictions relating to Jesus, as a person, in the Old Testament.

That Jesus was the Messiah in the sense in which he claimed to be so, we are far from questioning. But whether he can be shown to be the subject of supernatural prophecy or not, he was anointed by God with the holy spirit, and with power to sustain the office of Instructor and Reformer of the world; he was sanctified and sent into the world to accomplish purposes of God, and to introduce a dispensation, for which the whole Jewish economy had been a preparation, and by which the best hopes and most ardent desires of prophets and righteous men would be more than answered. Might he not, then, claim to be the Messiah in the sense of being the agent of God for accomplishing purposes, which had been promoted by the preceding dispensation, and for introducing a more glorious dispensation for which the preceding had been a preparation, to which it tended, and in which it was designed to end?

The necessity, or at least the desirableness, of some such view, arises from the difficulty of showing that the passages

in the Old Testament which relate, or have been supposed to relate, to a Messiah, have been fulfilled in Jesus. This difficulty appears not only from the objections of unbelievers, but from the various and inconsistent interpretations of these passages by Christian scholars; from the theory of a double sense, and other theories, which maintain that the sense, which the prophets themselves assigned to their language, is not the true sense; from such references to the subject as that of Dr. Paley in his chapter upon Prophecy, and from various other indications.

Bishop Chandler adduces twelve * passages which he supposes to have been fulfilled in Jesus. Grotius applies to him only five. Paley brings forward but one, and that one supposed by Grotius to relate to the prophet Jeremiah. He alleges the discussion, that would be necessary to show their application, as a reason for not bringing forward more. The following are some of these passages.

Gen. xlix. 10. According to the common version, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* But *Shiloh* is no where else used in Scripture as the name of a person, and of course not of the Messiah. It is used as the name of a place, and hence is more likely to be an abstract than a concrete noun. Moreover it is not probable that the Messiah would be introduced in the incidental way supposed by those, according to whom *Shiloh* denotes the Messiah. We think the meaning of the passage would be better represented by the following translation:

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the staff from between his feet,
Until peace shall come,
And the nations shall obey him, [i. e. Judah.]

that is, Judah shall hold the leader's sceptre, until he shall have subdued his enemies, obtained peace, and secured the obedience of nations.

That שֵׁטֶף may denote *staff*, or *sceptre*, is evident from

* I. Mal. iii. 1. — II. Mal. iv. 5, 6. — III. Haggai ii. 6—9. — IV. Zech. ix. 9. — V. Zech. xii. 10. — VI. Dan. ii. 44, 45. — VII. Dan. vii. 13, 14. — VIII. Dan. ix. 24—27. — IX. Mic. v. 2. — X. Hab. ii. 3, 4. — XI. Amos ix. 11, 12. — XII. Isa. lii. 13, &c.

Numb. xxi. 18. Thus the parallelism is better supported than by the rendering *lawgiver*, as also in Ps. lx. 7.

Ephraim shall be my helmet,

And Judah my sceptre, [שֵׁטֶרֶט].

In regard to the application of the passage to Jesus, if we even suppose that *Shiloh* may be rendered *peacemaker*, and denote a Messiah, it will be hard to convince an unprejudiced man, that the sceptre did not depart from Judah during the captivity of seventy years.

Haggai ii. 7. I suppose it will now be generally admitted that by *the desire* of all nations is meant *the desirable or precious things* of all nations. The verb answering to *shall come*, בָּרָא, is in the plural form, whence it is probable that בָּרָא is either used in a collective sense, or that it should be pointed so as to be in the plural form. That it denotes *desirable, valuable things*, is probable from 1 Sam. ix. 20. The Septuagint renders it τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ, and in Sam. τὰ ἀγαθὰ. "Bishop Chandler thinks that בָּרָא cannot be used of things, but of persons only. Yet it is used of days perpetually, and of the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 9. and of mounts coming against Jerusalem, Jer. xxxii. 24., and of trees coming to adorn the temple, Is. lx. 13., and probably of the wealth of the Gentiles, ver. 5 (compare lxi. 6.), and of silver and gold coming into the temple, Josh. vi. 19."*

In regard to Ps. cx., comp. Christian Exam. Vol. V. p. 58. That our Saviour sometimes reasoned *ad hominem* without giving express notice of it, is evident from his language in Matt. xv. 26. "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the dogs," &c. We intended to examine the most important prophecies, alleged by Grotius and by Bishop Chandler to have been literally fulfilled in Jesus. But we must abandon our purpose, as inconsistent with the limits of this article. We will only remark that a careful examination of them, and a consideration of the various and inconsistent modes of explaining them, will lead any one to hope that some such theory, as that proposed above, may be well grounded. Especially will this be the case, when he turns his attention to another class of passages.

There are various passages, which relate, and are com-

* Secker, as quoted by Newcome *ad loc.*

monly supposed to relate, to a Messiah, which it is difficult to reconcile with the character and condition of Jesus.

1. According to the common use of language, and the connexion in which the passages stand, and the circumstances under which they were written, many of them seem to denote a temporal king, a political sovereign, the head of a kingdom of this world. Such are the following.

“ For to us a child is born ;
To us a son is given,
And the government shall be upon his shoulder,
And he shall be called
Wonderful, counsellor, mighty potentate,
Everlasting father, prince of peace.
His dominion shall be great,
And peace without end shall rest
Upon the throne of David and his kingdom ;
He shall fix and establish it
Through justice and equity,
Henceforth and for ever. — Is. ix. 6, 7.

In that day shall the shoot of Jesse stand as a banner
for the people,
And to him shall the nations repair,
And his dwelling-place shall be glorious.
He shall set up a banner for the nations,
And gather the outcasts of Israel,
And bring together the dispersed of Judah
From the four extremities of the earth.
But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines at
the sea ;
Together shall they plunder the children of the East ;
Edom and Moab shall be their prey,
And the sons of Ammon shall be subject to them. — Is. xi.
10, 12, 14.

Behold a king shall reign in righteousness,
And princes shall rule with equity. — Is. xxxii. 1.

Behold the days are coming, saith Jehovah,
That I will raise up to David a righteous branch,
And a king shall reign and prosper,
And shall maintain justice and equity in the land ;
In his days Judah shall be saved,
And Israel shall dwell in security,
And this is the name, which shall be given him, Jehovah-is-
our-salvation. — Jer. xxiii. 5, 6.

In those days, at that time, will I cause the righteous
branch of David to grow up,

Who shall maintain justice and equity in the land.

At that time Judah shall be saved,

And Jerusalem shall dwell in security.

And this is the name, which shall be given her, Jehovah-is-my-salvation."—Jer. xxxiii. 15, 16.

See also Ezek. xxxiv. 23—25. xxxvii. 24—26.

Whoever will examine the preceding passages in their connexion must, we think, receive a strong impression, that they relate to the Messiah expected by the Jews, and that he is represented in them as a powerful temporal king. It is true, that he is set forth as a *righteous* king; and a moral and religious reformation is represented as accompanying his reign. But this does not prove, that he is not also described as a political sovereign. Several Jewish kings were reformers in religion and morals.

It has, indeed, been said, that Jesus sustained the character of king after his resurrection and exaltation, when, according to his own assertion, all power was given him in heaven and earth. "He was a king," says Hengstenberg, * "in the truest and most literal sense, and of his kingdom every earthly one is only *an image and shadow*." But the true question is, not whether Jesus now exercises an influence over the willing soul, but whether he was a king in the place, and in the sense, in which the passages above quoted from the Hebrew prophets represent him to be such. This we leave to the judgment of our readers.

2. It seems to be the sense of the prophets, that the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom were to consist in the prosperity and glory of the Jewish nation, and to be obtained, in part, by victory and triumph over their enemies. See Mic. v. Is. xxv. 6, &c. xxix. 22, 23. xxx. 19—26. Joel iii. 9, &c. Is. xi. Mic. iv. 11—13. We wish our limits would allow us to quote at length, but must trouble the reader to consult the passages referred to for himself.

3. The prophets seem to have regarded the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom as belonging primarily to the Jewish nation, and as to be enjoyed by the rest of the world only by joining themselves to the Jews, and embracing their religion. See Is. ii. Mic. iv. Is. xxv. 6, &c. Ezek. xxvii. 28. This is stated by Jahn, an advocate of the double sense. "The prophets thought that it, i. e. the propagation

* Vol. I. p. 360.

of the true religion, was to be accomplished, either by the victories of the Hebrews inducing idolaters to acknowledge their God, who gave such proofs of his power, to be the true and only God; or by that method of conversion, which the Maccabees afterwards attempted." *

4. The prophets seem to have in view an office, and not a particular person, in their Messianic predictions. They speak of a king, rather than *the* king, and, though they lived at different periods, seem to speak of his coming, at no distant period from their own time. See the passages quoted above from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

5. They seem to have described the same state of things, as to be introduced by different official characters; now by a king, now by a prophet, or by the prophetic order, under the name of the "servant of God." Will the laws of language allow us to admit that Is. liii. refers to the same character as those passages which describe a triumphant king? It is true, that a person once in a low condition, like David, might afterwards be exalted to a throne; and hence it might be said that Is. liii. referred to one period of his life, and the other passages to a succeeding period. But this supposition will not remove the difficulty. For the same blessings are represented at one time as the consequence of the victories of a mighty prince, and, at another, as the consequence of the sufferings and exertions of a prophet, or of the prophetic order. See Is. lii. liii. liv., compared with the passages quoted on page 330.

6. The prophets represent the events of the Messiah's kingdom as near, and connected with events, which happened before Jesus appeared, such as the destruction of certain nations, and the return of the Jews from captivity, as may appear from most of the preceding quotations and references. It has been said, indeed, that events were revealed to the prophets "in space, not in time;" and that hence, they were ignorant of the time, when they were to happen. But something more than ignorance is implied in their representing these events as near. If they supposed themselves ignorant of the time, when the events they predict were to happen, why do they with confidence represent them to be near? Besides, the remark that events were revealed to them in space, not in time, will not apply in any intelligible sense to

* Jahn's Introduction, § 82, p. 310. American translation.

a great part of the prophetic writings, which consists of affirmations, or declarations, not to be represented by pictures.

Now Jesus was not a temporal king, nor a victorious prince; he did not lead the Jewish nation to prosperity and glory; and other nations became partakers of the blessings of his religion, not by becoming appendages and tributaries to the Jewish nation. In fine, Christianity was established by the destruction of the nation, and not by its triumph. If then the obvious sense, which the prophets attached to their language, be the true sense, many of their predictions are not to be reconciled with the character and fortunes of Jesus and his religion. This conclusion is adopted by writers of different sentiments, such as Jahn, an advocate of the double sense, and Hengstenberg and others, who maintain that the sense, which the prophets attached to their own language, is not necessarily the true sense.

The design of the peculiar theory of Hengstenberg respecting the nature of prophecy was, if we mistake not, to establish the last mentioned proposition, viz. that the sense, which the prophets attached to their language, is not necessarily the true sense. In the view of the author himself, the correctness of his application and interpretation of many passages, which he regards as literally fulfilled in Jesus, depends upon the correctness of that proposition. The value, therefore, of his work depends principally upon the correctness of his views respecting a great principle of interpretation. If it be true, that we are to apply the same principles of interpretation to the Bible, which we do to all other books, and are to believe that we have discovered the true meaning of a passage, when we have discovered the meaning which the writer attached to his language, then the work of Hengstenberg is of no value, so far as its principal object is concerned. No confidence is to be placed in the correctness of his application or interpretation of the language of the prophets. He has proceeded in opposition to a fundamental principle of interpretation, now generally acknowledged, viz. that a writer's meaning is that which he attaches to the language, which he uses.

We shall not go into the defence of a principle so generally acknowledged. We write for those, who have no belief in double senses, or in plenary verbal inspiration. We will, however, endeavour to state the views of the nature of

prophecy, on which our author's interpretation of the prophetic writings is founded.

The prominent feature of our author's theory of the nature of prophecy is, that the prophets were not in the possession of their own understandings when they received, and when they uttered, their prophecies. To use his own language "They were in a state of ecstasy (*ἔκστασις*)," i. e. according to his definition, "a state in which intelligent consciousness (*verständige Bewusstseyn*) retired, and individual agency (*Selbstleben*) was entirely suppressed by a powerful operation of the divine Spirit, and reduced to a state of passiveness. Thus the prophets, as Philo said, were interpreters, whose organs God employed in making known his revelations." *

Again he says, "We may apply to the true prophets what Plato enlarges upon in *Ion* and *Phædrus*, viz. that with prophecy there is necessarily connected the suppression of human activity and intelligent consciousness. But the nature of the prophetic condition is very appropriately described by Philo.† 'While the mind sheds its light around us, pouring into our souls a meridian splendor, we, being in possession of ourselves, are not under a supernatural influence. But after the sun has gone down, as might be expected, an ecstasy, a divine influence, and a phrensy, falls on us. For when the divine light shines, the human goes down; but when the former goes down, the latter rises and comes forth. This is what ordinarily happens in prophecy. Our own mind retires on the advent of the divine spirit; but after the latter has departed, the former again returns. For it is not becoming that the mortal and immortal should dwell together. Consequently the retirement of reason, and the darkness connected with it, is followed by an ecstasy and a divine phrensy.'" ‡

In dispossessing the prophet of his understanding, it seems to have been the opinion of Hengstenberg, that the Deity found some difficulty. "Sometimes the internal struggle of the divinity with humanity was so great, that the prophets tore off their clothes from their bodies;" § i. e., to change

* Vol. I, p. 294. We avail ourselves of the translation in the Andover "Repository," having compared it with the original.

† *Quis rerum div. sit hæres*, p. 404, edit. Hoesch.

‡ Vol. I. p. 297.

§ p. 296.

his misty abstractions into concrete terms, the Creator of heaven and earth had a contest with the minds of the prophets, the latter being unwilling to resign the possession of their understandings; and the contest was so hot, that the prophets were obliged to throw off their clothes!

Such, according to our author, was the state into which the prophets were brought, as a preparation for their receiving and publishing divine communications. They were dispossessed of their intelligent consciousness, and reduced to a state of entire passiveness. Before we go farther in the statement of his views, we will stop, not to adduce objections to what has already been stated, but to inquire what is his evidence for his allegations. What he represents as the condition of the prophets is a great, and apparently an unnecessary, miracle. For we can see no reason why communications might not be made by the Deity to the human mind in its natural state. The burden of proof rests, therefore, upon the author of such a theory. Were it not for the purpose of illustrating our author's judgment as an interpreter, and justifying the remarks we made respecting him at the beginning of this article, we should hardly think it worth while to examine the arguments for such a theory.

"That they were seized by the Spirit of God, and that in a forcible manner, which suppressed for the time their own agency," he regards as "denoted by the expressions, 'The hand of God, or the Spirit of God, came, or fell on the prophet;' e. g. Ezek. i. 3; 1 Sam. xix. 20, &c.; 2 Kings iii. 15; 2 Chron. xv. 1." *

Of these passages the last introduces, not a prophecy, but an exhortation; that in Samuel relates to the case of the messengers of Saul, who are not commonly supposed to have received divine communications. But supposing all the passages referred to contained prophecies, where did our author learn that the hand of God deprived those on whom it fell, of their agency, or dispossessed them of their understandings? What child, old enough to attend one of our Sunday schools, does not know that the expressions in question are often used without reference to prophecy, or even to a supernatural interposition of the Deity. Thus in Neh. ii. 8. We read, "The king granted me according to the good hand

of God upon me." And in Judges vi. 34: "But the Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet and sent messengers."

"The irresistibleness of this seizure," says our author, "is also indicated in Jer. xx. 7, by these words, 'Lord, thou hast persuaded me, and I have suffered myself to be persuaded; thou hast been too strong for me, and hast prevailed.'"* We think he has translated the verse correctly; and the obvious meaning of it is, that, though the fear of contempt and danger urged him to forbear the discharge of his office as a prophet, yet conscience and the motives arising from his relation to God, urged him to deliver his message, and prevailed. Why should the strong language of the latter part of the verse be understood according to the letter, rather than the softer expressions of the former part of it? Who does not know that in Scripture and in common conversation, similar or still stronger expressions are used to denote the influence of persuasion. Thus it is said, Our Saviour *could* not perform miracles because of the unbelief of the Nazarenes. Mark vi. 5. Thus it is commonly said, I *cannot* resist your intreaties. The general meaning of the verse is illustrated by chap. i. 5-8.

Another passage brought by our author in support of his theory is 2 Pet. i. 21.† "Holy men of God spake as they were moved (*πνερούμενοι*) by the Holy Ghost." But this proves only that these holy men spake under the influence of the holy spirit, not that they were deprived of their own agency, or dispossessed of their understandings.

Again says our author, "The unusualness of the prophetic condition appears from the fact that unbelievers supposed the prophets to be insane. Thus, in 2 Kings ix. 11, the courtiers of Jehu say to him, 'Wherefore came this mad fellow to thee?' Compare a perfectly similar passage in Jer. xxix. 26."‡ Here is a specimen of our author's logic and sense. The *courtiers* of Jehu call a prophet, known to be disagreeable to their master, a mad fellow; therefore the prophet must be supposed to be deprived of his voluntary agency, and dispossessed of intelligent consciousness. For the *unusualness* of the prophet's condition must amount to this, or be nothing to our author's purpose. It may be admitted that there was something unusual in the appear-

* Vol. I. p. 295.

† Ibid.

‡ p. 296.

ance of a prophet. They appear to have spoken under strong emotion, and with violent gesticulation. Their messages, too, were often of an extraordinary character. These circumstances are enough to account for the remarks of scoffers concerning them. St. Paul was once pronounced to be beside himself, when he was unusually earnest upon an important subject. So the Pharisees said of Jesus, "He hath a dæmon and is mad, why hear ye him?" And so, too, we may add, his relations said, "He is beside himself."

Such are the most important, and indeed nearly all, the arguments urged by our author in support of the fundamental principle of his work, that upon which, in its consequences, he regards the value of his work as depending. "There can then," says he with great complacency, "be no doubt that the Hebrew prophets, as well as the heathen diviners, were in an ecstasy, i. e. deprived of their own voluntary agency, and dispossessed of their intelligent consciousness."* We have thus a fair specimen of the process, by which he arrives at his undoubted conclusions. We are not surprised to find such a writer engaged in publishing for the benefit of his countrymen such works as *Scott's Force of Truth*.†

Our author, it must be observed, holds the opinion, that the prophets were in the same condition, when they uttered, as when they received, divine communications. And all his reasonings are founded on the supposition, that what they uttered we now have in their written works; i. e., that the prophetic writings are not merely the views entertained by the prophets concerning the divine communications which were made to them, but are the divine communications themselves.

But to proceed with our author's theory. In order that the prophet may be a competent recipient of divine communications when dispossessed of his understanding, or of intelligent consciousness, he reserves to him what he calls the *internal sense*. "All impressions were made upon the internal sense, which was furnished (befruchtet) by the Divine Spirit, while reflection and the external senses were at rest."‡

* p. 296.

† Among the recent publications at Berlin we find an advertisement of the following: "Scott T., Die Kraft der Wahrheit, eine wahre Geschichte, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg."

‡ p. 299.

With regard to this internal sense our author appears to be inconsistent with himself. He defines it to be the faculty of immediate perception. From this definition and from the nature of the prophetic writings, it ought to include not only the faculty of perceiving images or pictures, but also of perceiving spoken words. It ought to be an internal sense of hearing, as well as of seeing. At least as great a portion of the prophetic writings is occupied in the relation of what Jehovah spake, or of what the prophets heard, as of what they saw. And yet, in other passages, our author draws important conclusions from the supposition that this internal sense was mental vision alone in its etymological sense, corresponding to the outward sense of sight. Thus he says: "If the prophets received all their communications in mental vision, it follows that these must have been given by images, or pictures. For all immediate knowledge is an image or picture, while abstract ideas belong only to knowledge obtained in a different way."* Again: "The prophets were describers of pictures rather than chronological historians."† Again he says, "To the view of the prophets events could be given only in the relation of juxtaposition, not in that of *succession*."‡ And again: "Not unfrequently, instead of events being presented in juxtaposition, they appear as blended together; just as, when the view is directed to a distance, objects flow into one another, and those seem to be connected, which are in reality far apart."§ And again: "The prophets viewed the future only in space, not in time, and hence, near and remote events, similar to each other, were not unfrequently presented to the view of the prophets as contiguous, or *even lying one upon another*,"|| (aneinander stießen oder sich gar deckten.) Such is the desperation with which a man of considerable learning can pursue a theory, not only in defiance of the most obvious matters of fact, but in contradiction to himself. It is to be recollected that he regards the prophets as *speaking* in a state of ecstasy, as well as seeing. The description, therefore, of what they saw must be regarded as the divine communication, as well as the vision itself. All that they uttered and wrote, he regards as having God for its *immediate* author. But do the Books

* Vol. I. p. 312.

§ p. 308.

† p. 306.

|| p. 324.

‡ p. 307.

of Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Micah, contain nothing but images or pictures, or descriptions of images, or pictures? Do they contain no abstract declarations, no narratives, no expostulations? Do they contain no accounts of what Jehovah *spake*, as well as of what he presented to the vision of the prophets?

The assertion that all, or the greater part, of the contents of the prophetic books was seen in space is in fact rank nonsense. No one can read scarcely a page of any one of the prophetic books, which does not contain matter, which from its nature is incapable of being represented in space. If this be so, then the alleged necessity that the relations of time should be disregarded, and that events, which were to happen in different ages, should be placed in juxtaposition or lie one upon the other in the same passage or sentence, is done away. The idea that the relations of time were disregarded by the prophets, rather than the relations of space, would hardly occur to any one, who should read their writings unbiassed by theory. We do not mean that they intended to state the exact time of all the events, which they predicted. But that they confounded the relations of time in the composition of their writings we believe to be an unmerited reproach.

If the mere images or pictures, alleged to have been presented to the prophets in vision, were all that was claimed as divine, and if the description of these visions, and all in the prophetic writings besides visions, were held to be only the human views, which the prophets took of divine communications, there might be more plausibility in the allegation that the prophets disregarded the relations of time. But as the prophets are represented by this writer, as delivering, as well as receiving, divine communications in a state of ecstasy, i. e. as mere organs of the Deity, there is no room for such a distinction. He represents God as the immediate author of the whole, and the prophet as no more than the pen used in writing it.* But is God the author of confusion and error? Has he placed events, belonging to different ages of the world, in juxtaposition, and made them lie upon each other, and so described them in written

* Much, however, occurs in the "*Christology*," which is inconsistent with this opinion. Consistency is hardly to be expected in such a writer.

composition, as that by the laws of language all readers, at least before the fulfillment of the predictions, would suppose that they were to happen at the same, or nearly the same time. Believe this, who will. We cannot give up our reason to make way for such revelations.

We have thus endeavoured to give some account of the condition and manner, in which, according to our author, the prophets received and delivered divine communications. From this theory he goes on, in his wordy, misty way, to deduce certain properties of prophecy, of which we shall take notice of only one, that which he evidently regards as the most important, and which, as we suppose, the theory was constructed to support.

"The prophets," says he, "were only organs of the Divine Spirit, and what they said during their ecstasy, and the consequent suppression of intelligent consciousness, cannot have been accompanied with a correct or incorrect understanding. Hence, in this respect, they stood in the same relation to their predictions, as their bearers or their readers did, *so that their apprehensions as to the meaning of what they communicated cannot determine the true sense.*"*

This is evidently the most important feature of this writer's theory, for it immediately affects, or rather subverts, a fundamental principle of interpretation. In all other compositions, when we have arrived at the meaning, which, in view of the use of language, of the connexion of the discourse, and the various circumstances under which he wrote, must be regarded as the meaning of the writer, we think we have found the true meaning. But if, as this writer maintains, the true meaning of predictions might be, and often was, hidden from the prophets themselves, and their contemporaries, and left to be ascertained principally by their fulfillment, then all who attempt to find the meaning of a prediction, at least before its fulfillment, are engaged in a hopeless undertaking; they cannot do it, until man can by searching find out God.

Hengstenberg maintains, indeed, that his view is not inconsistent with the principle of interpretation, that an interpreter must always make it his final aim to find the sense, which the *author* had in view, because the proper author of

* Vol. I. p. 317.

the prophecies is God alone, and the prophet only his instrument.

But, without contending against a view of the authorship of the sacred writings, now maintained by few interpreters of any denomination in this, or any other country, I may ask, whether this very view does not contradict an equally fundamental principle of interpretation, namely, that every author means and expects to be understood by those, through whom, and to whom he speaks. Is it a supposition worthy of God, that he has spoken in language, which could not be understood for ages after it was spoken? Is it worthy of God to speak in language, which shall necessarily be misunderstood? For the words, which the prophets uttered and wrote, were not unmeaning sounds or characters to themselves, or their contemporaries. They are words, to which, according to the common use of language, both the prophets, and their contemporaries, and succeeding generations, must attach some meaning, an erroneous one, if not the true one. Hengstenberg does not flinch from this consequence. He expressly maintains, that the erroneous views, necessarily derived from the sacred writings by the writers and readers of them, were adapted to have a better influence than the truth! * A proposition, we hesitate not to say, tending to the subversion of the foundation of religion natural and revealed. For, if the Supreme Being may directly and intentionally deceive his creatures in one important particular, where can they find confidence, that there is not error and deception in the whole scheme of Revelation, and of Providence?

Our author says, that the principal means of understanding the prophecies, is their fulfillment. † Fulfillment of what? What is fulfillment? Is it not the agreement of actions or events with something predicted, in such a manner as to imply miraculous foreknowledge in the predictor? Now, how are we to discover such an agreement, but by the comparison of certain actions or events with language of which we understand the meaning? You assert that certain events determine the meaning of what you confess you did not understand before the occurrence of the events. But your neighbour asserts that events of a different kind determine the meaning of the same prediction, and determine it to be

* p. 329.

† p. 319.

different from that, which you assign to it. What right have you to contradict him ?

Many writers have spoken like Hengstenberg, of a necessary obscurity of prophetic language. If predictions had been perfectly clear, say they, the fulfillment of such as depend on the concurrence of free agents might have been frustrated. How unworthy is such a supposition of a being, "who turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of water are turned, who taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and whose counsel shall stand in spite of all the devices of man's heart !" This remark applies to predictions of ordinary events. But how the fulfillment of predicted events, in their nature miraculous, could be defeated, if it had been the will of God to reveal them, is still less conceivable.

We are compelled to believe, that much which has been written concerning the necessary obscurity of prophecy, is but learned dust, raised in order to conceal from the writers themselves and others the actual difficulties of the subject ; difficulties arising from the comparison of what, according to the common rules of interpretation, we may be confident that we do understand with the history of the Jewish nation, the life and character of Jesus, and the state of things since his appearance ; and from the application of passages in the Old Testament by writers in the New.

These difficulties account for the formation of theories so much at war with common sense as that of Hengstenberg, and the theory of a double sense, which differs from the former only in this, that it assigns two meanings to prophetic language, both of which are supposed to be true, while, according to Hengstenberg, such language has two meanings, one false, and the other true.

We have seen that Hengstenberg rejects a principle of interpretation, which is almost universally regarded as fundamental, namely, that the meaning, which any writer assigns to his language, is the true meaning. We are, therefore, relieved from the necessity of examining the correctness of his application and interpretation of particular prophecies. We cannot reason with such an interpreter. They, who differ from him in respect to so important a principle, can have no confidence in the correctness of his application of any particular passages to the Messiah. A book written upon such principles must,

in their estimation, be worthless, so far as its principal object is concerned.

It cannot be doubted, that the rejection of the principle, that the meaning of a writer is that, which he himself connected with his words, was caused by a regard to the authority of the Christian Revelation. The application of this principle to the prophecies, has been supposed to lead to consequences injurious to Christianity. It is, nevertheless, deeply founded in the common sense of mankind; the same common sense to which the proofs and interpretation of the Christian Revelation are addressed. We have seen to what extravagances Hengstenberg has been led, in endeavouring to find support for a different principle. It is necessary, therefore, to find out some other method of reconciling the consequences of a correct interpretation of the Old Testament with the authority of Christianity.

One of these consequences is that, which we have already set forth, namely, that several predictions, generally supposed to relate to the Messiah, and to the establishment of his kingdom, seem not to be reconcilable with the life and character of Jesus; and that it is difficult to point out any predictions, which have been properly fulfilled in Jesus.

Another consequence of regarding the meaning of the writers as the true meaning of the prophetic writings is, that the Evangelists and Apostles seem to understand these writings in a sense different from that, which we have reason to believe to be the true sense.

These consequences have been admitted, in part, at least, by some of the advocates of a double sense; and, though the fact is not formally acknowledged by Hengstenberg, it is evidently the perception of it, that led to his theory.

We think it consistent with the divine authority of Christ to admit, that the Evangelists and Apostles have applied the language of the prophets to persons and facts, to which in the mind of the prophets they had no relation, and this, not merely for the purpose of rhetorical illustration and confirmation, but of proving a real fulfillment of prophecy. Such an application of Is. vii. 14, is, in our opinion, made in Matthew, i. 23, and of Psalm xvi. by Peter and Paul in Acts ii. 25—31. xiii. 34—37. We will examine these cases in order to justify the admission we have made.

The writer, having given an account of the miraculous con-

ception of Jesus, goes on to say: "Now all this was done, or came to pass, that it might be fulfilled, which the Lord spake by the Prophet, 'Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son,' &c." Now, if we examine this passage in Isaiah, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that it relates to a young woman who lived, and to a child who was to be born, in the days of Ahaz, king of Judah. It appears from the connexion, in which it stands, that Ahaz, king of Judah, terrified by a threatened invasion of the combined forces of the kings of Israel and Syria, had determined to apply to the king of Assyria for aid. From this determination the Prophet endeavoured to dissuade Ahaz, and in so doing, promised him a *sign*, by which he should be convinced, that his deliverance from the forces of those kings would be sure and speedy. This sign was, that a young marriageable woman, the actual or betrothed wife of the prophet, should be delivered of a male child, so that Ahaz, seeing the fulfillment of this promise, might be confident that the promised deliverance connected with the sign would be accomplished, before this child should learn to choose the good, and refuse the evil. Now how could the birth of Jesus, seven hundred years after the time of Ahaz, be a *sign* to him of his deliverance from the kings of Israel and Syria? This question has been often asked, but never answered. Hengstenberg endeavours to avoid the difficulty, as follows.* He first assumes, in defiance of the context, and of the purpose for which the prophet came to Ahaz, that the prophet addressed the words in question, not to the king, but to the pious part of the people. He assumes, too, what cannot be proved, that the expectation of a Messiah to be born of a virgin was common at the time. He then asserts, that the prophet, turning from the king and addressing the pious part of the people, says, "As surely as your expected Messiah is to come, so surely shall the nation, in which he is to be born, and the royal family from which he is to spring, be preserved from destruction." But on the supposition, unwarrantable as it is, that Ahaz was surrounded with pious people, and that Isaiah addressed them rather than the scoffing king, we still have no *sign*, but only an affirmation. A *sign*, according to Scripture usage, surely means something more than a simple

* Vol. II. p. 47.

affirmation. In fact, the explanation of Hengstenberg is in defiance of not one only, but several established rules of interpretation.

In regard to the word *העלמה* rendered *virgin* in the common version, we suppose it to denote a young woman of marriageable age, and who might, or might not, be married.* It is not this word, but another, *בתולה*, that is used to denote the condition of a virgin. Compare Prov. xxx. 19. From ch. viii. 1 — 4, 18, and from the circumstance that the children of the prophets were accustomed to have symbolic names,† we have reason to suppose, that the wife of the prophet Isaiah was intended by *העלמה*, and his son by Immanuel. This has been inferred by some eminent critics from the use of the article in connexion with the word. The young woman signifies, according to them, the young woman belonging to me, i. e. *my* young woman. So in colloquial English, it is not uncommon to hear the remark, I will see what *the woman* says, meaning, *my wife*. See Gesenius' Latin and Heb. Lex. article ה.

This passage in Isaiah, then, had, in the mind of the prophet, no relation to Jesus.

But was it the design of the writer to make use of it as a proper prediction relating to Jesus? Might he not have intended to make a mere rhetorical application of the passage, merely accommodating the language of Isaiah to the purpose of his narrative? Might he not have intended merely to point out a coincidence between what happened relating to Jesus, and the language used by the prophet respecting another occurrence? Such is the view taken of the passage by many writers, such as Dr. Sykes, ‡ Dr. Campbell, § and Dr. Eckermann, || the last named of whom regards all the applications of the words of the Old Testament to the life and circumstances of Jesus, as mere accommodations of the language of the Old Testament to something which is recorded in the New. According to them, the meaning of the Evangelist is, that the conception of Jesus was of such a character, that the words of Isaiah might be fitly used in describing it. I am not able to extract this meaning from the

* See Gesen. and Winer's Lex. ad verb. † See vii. 3. viii. 3. Hosea i. 4, 8, 9. ‡ Truth of the Christian Religion, Ch. xiii.

§ In his note on the verse. || Theologische Beytrage, p. 25, et seq.

original without doing violence to the language of the writer, *τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ*. "Now all this was done, took place, or happened, that it might be fulfilled." This appears to me to be the plain sense of the words. The translations of Wakefield and the Improved Version, seem to me to be bad English. "Now all this was done, so that it was fulfilled;" unless they supposed the meaning of the verse to be, that "all was done *in such a manner*, as that it was fulfilled," &c. But this is hardly probable. They knew very well, that very different language would have been used in Greek to express that meaning. I admit, that nothing in opposition to the meaning, which is supported by Sykes and others, can be inferred from the verb *πληρωθῇ*, or even from the particle *ἵνα*, in itself considered,* and if it commenced a new clause. But following the words *τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν*, *all this was done*, or *took place*, and this too in reference to a miraculous event of such a character, I cannot help believing the particle *ἵνα*, to be used in its common signification, *in order that*, and that it is correctly rendered in the common version.

The object of the New Testament writers in making quotations from the Old, is to be learned from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know to have been the prevalent principles of interpretation at that time.† It is not to be forgotten, that though the Jews sometimes used the form of quotation *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* and others for purposes, which may be called rhetorical, yet that the common use of such forms was to call attention to the real fulfillment of a prediction. It is to be remembered, that words at that time were regarded as a sort of real essences, and not merely as signs of ideas in the mind of him, who used them, and that the Jews regarded many passages of the Old Testament as predictions of their Messiah, which have no claim to that character. Now why might not the Evangelists and Apostles adopt the hermeneutics and logic, as well as the rhetoric, of their contemporaries? Why might they not make an application of a text of Scripture, which the established principles of interpretation

* See the Christian Examiner, Vol. V. p. 54, *et seq.*

† See valuable information on this subject, in the Christian Examiner, Vol. V. p. 38-43. See also Hermeneutik der Neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller, by Döpke. Leipzig, 1829.

now pronounce to be incorrect, as well as an application of it, which established principles of rhetoric now pronounce to be nugatory? Mat. ii. 15, is usually considered an undoubted instance, in which the form of quotation denotes merely a rhetorical use of the language. To me it appears quite as creditable to the writer to suppose that he regarded that text as a typical prophecy, as to suppose that he made such a solemn parade of Scripture language for the mere purpose of relating the fact, that the infant Jesus, having been carried into Egypt, was brought back by his parents. It may be said, that such was the rhetoric of the day. We reply, Such was the interpretation of the day. However this may be, the former case of ch. i. 23, seems to be a decided one of incorrect interpretation on the part of the Evangelist, if, indeed, he be the writer of the first two chapters of the Gospel ascribed to him. He is an honest and capable historian of the life and doctrines of Jesus, as such entirely worthy of our confidence. But it did not please God to make him an infallible interpreter.

The next case, which we shall adduce, is independent of any form of quotation. It is that of the use of the sixteenth Psalm by the Apostles Peter and Paul in Acts ii. 25—31, and xiii. 34—37. Both of them endeavour to prove, that a part of the psalm applies to Jesus, and not to David. A mere rhetorical application, or accommodation, cannot be maintained here.

Yet if we apply to this psalm the common principles of interpretation, we cannot come to the conclusion, that the writer had in his mind the meaning assigned to his language by the Apostles. This psalm, with the inscription, should, we think, be translated thus.

A writing, or psalm of David.

- Preserve me, O God, for to thee do I look for help;
 1 I have said to Jehovah, Thou art my Lord;
 I have no happiness without thee!
 2 The holy that are in the land, and the excellent,
 In them is all my delight.
 4 They, who hasten after other gods, shall have multiplied sorrows;

- Their drink-offerings of blood I will not offer,
 Nor will I take their names upon my lips.
- 6 Jehovah is my portion and my cup;
 Thou wilt maintain my lot!
- 6 My portion hath fallen to me in pleasant places;
 Yea, I have a goodly inheritance.
- 7 I will bless Jehovah, who careth for me;
 Yea in the night my heart admonisheth me. [i. e. to praise him.]
- 8 I set Jehovah before me at all times;
 Since he is at my right hand, I shall not fall.
- 9 Therefore my heart is glad and my spirit rejoiceth;
 My flesh also dwelleth in security.
- 10 For thou wilt not give me up to the grave,
 Nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see the pit.
- 11 Thou wilt show me the path of life;
 In thy presence is fulness of joy;
 At thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.

Now as soon as we begin to read this psalm, we receive the impression, that it relates to a person then living, and not to one, who was to live many hundred years afterwards; and that the author of it is also the subject of it. One is represented as speaking in the first person, and not spoken of in the third. Nor is there in the inscription, nor in any part of the psalm, any intimation, that the writer had in view any person, except himself, as the subject of the petition, or that he is expressing the feelings of any one except himself. He, therefore, gave his readers as good ground to believe that he was the subject of the psalm, as if he had expressly declared it. We shall also endeavour to show, that the language of the psalm is more applicable to David, or any pious Jew of his time, in circumstances of trouble and danger, than to Jesus.

The third and fourth verses are evidently more applicable to a pious king, or person of distinction, professing to patronize the worshippers of Jehovah rather than those that were inclined to idolatry, than to Jesus. The fourth verse indicates, that the person, who is the subject of the psalm, was living amongst those, who hastened after other gods, and that he was tempted to imitate them. How much better this is suited to the times of David, than to those of Jesus, when idolatry was the universal abhorrence of the Jews, is

obvious. The expression, *They, who hasten after other gods*, seems to point to idolatrous Jews, rather than to the heathen, long sunk in idolatry.

The line, "Nor will I take their names upon my lips," means, I suppose, "I will have no intercourse with them." This is more in the spirit of a Jew of that age, than of him who sat at meat with publicans and sinners, and came to seek and save that which was lost.

Verses fifth and seventh, seem to me to indicate external condition, and if so, to be more applicable to David, or some other person, than to him who had not where to lay his head.

The seventh and eighth verses might have been uttered by any pious Jew. The words *אֶפְשָׁר לִי*, *I shall not fall*, are by some understood in a moral sense, *I waver not*, or *lose not my confidence*. In either case, however, the person speaking evidently feels safe. It is not destruction or death, but danger, from which he trusts that God will deliver him.

Verse ninth expresses the writer's feeling of security, or fearlessness of danger, in a still stronger manner. But this verse requires more particular illustration. I need not stop to prove, what every one acquainted with Hebrew phraseology will admit, that "my heart" and "my spirit,"* are but periphrases for the personal pronoun *I*. *My flesh* has been supposed by some to denote the *dead body*. But the same Hebrew idiom, the connexion of the discourse, and the parallelism of the verse clearly show, that "*my flesh*" is but a periphrasis of the personal pronoun *I*; "my heart," and "my spirit," and "my flesh" being only an emphatic expression to denote the whole person. Thus, Ps. lxxxiv. 2.

My soul longeth, yea panteth, for the courts of Jehovah;
My heart and *my flesh* cry aloud for the living God.

So in lxiii. 1.

O God, thou art my God! earnestly do I seek thee!
My soul thirsteth, my flesh longeth for thee, &c.

See also cxix. 120. These examples alone are sufficient to show conclusively, that *my flesh* has no exclusive reference to the inanimate part of man, and is but a periphrasis for the

* The most literal meaning of the original, is either *my glory*, i. e. my most distinguished part, or more probably, *my liver*.

first personal pronoun; so that the line might be rendered, "I shall dwell in security."

What is meant by *dwelling in security* is to be learned from the use of the phrase לְבֶטֶח in other passages, from the connexion, and the parallelism. These three considerations seem to me to prove conclusively, that the meaning is either, *I shall live safe* from the calamity which threatens, or in a moral sense, which we prefer, *I shall live secure or fearless*. Precisely the same expression is used in Deut. xxxiii. 12, translated in the common version, "The beloved of the Lord shall *dwell in safety* by him." The same also in Judges xviii. 7, "How they *dwell careless* after the manner of the Sidonians." Jer. xxiii. 6, and xxxiii. 16, "Israel shall dwell safely." Compare also Deut. xxxiii. 28; Judges viii. 11; Lev. xxv. 18, 19; Is. xlvii. 8; Ps. iv. 8; Ezek. xxx. 9; 1 Kings iv. 25.

Whoever will weigh well the preceding passages must be convinced that usage, *usus loquendi*, requires the meaning to be, *I shall be safe from calamity*, or *I shall be fearless of calamity*. It is not hope to escape from calamity, in which one is already involved, but confidence that one will not fall into it, that is denoted by the expression.

That this is the meaning, appears also from the connexion. From the beginning of the psalm to the line under consideration, there is not the slightest intimation that the person praying expected to die. On the contrary we find him exulting in the confidence of divine protection, in the preceding line. It is, therefore, a violent and unaccountable transition, that he should conceive of himself as dead, and of his body as lying in the grave, in this line. Thus we see that one cannot make this line signify, *My dead body shall rest in the grave*, without disregard of three important considerations, which oppose such a meaning, viz. usage, the connexion of the discourse, and the parallelism; not to mention the incongruity of attributing hope to a dead body lying in the grave.

We are now prepared to proceed to the next verse, בִּלְאֵ תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשָׂאוֹל, translated in the common version, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*. Here every scholar will admit that *my soul* denotes *me*, and that the word, rendered *hell*, here denotes simply *the place of the dead*, and that the word *grave* sufficiently expresses its general meaning.

It only requires recurrence to any Hebrew Lexicon to be convinced, that the preposition is wrongly translated in the common version, and that it should be *to* instead of *in*. The preposition would have been ל instead of ב to express the meaning of the common version. Even in the Acts, it is rendered, not ἐν ᾧδῃ , but εἰς ᾧδῃν , or ᾧδου , and in the Sept. εἰς ᾧδῃν . We suppose, therefore, that all will approve of the translation, *Thou wilt not leave me to the grave*. Now these words may be regarded as in themselves ambiguous. They may mean, *Thou wilt not suffer me to be committed to the grave*, i. e. to die, or *Thou wilt not abandon me to the possession of the grave* after I am buried. We believe the former meaning to be best supported by the connexion, and by usage. We left the person, who is speaking, safe and fearless of calamity, confident that he should not fall into it. Instead of regarding himself as near death, or dead, or in the grave, he was exulting and secure in the divine protection. It is therefore a very violent transition, that he should here conceive of himself as dead and buried.

In regard to usage, Ps. xlix. 10, is a case in point. Here the same verb and preposition are used in the line, "*And leave their wealth to others.*" Here the wealth was not in the possession of others before it was left to them. The same verb and preposition are used in Job xxxix. 14, where the strict meaning is, *She commits her eggs to the ground*. For who that is acquainted with the Hebrew prepositions, can doubt that ל instead of ב would have been used, if the meaning had been, that she abandoned what was already in the ground? In Job xxxix. 11, the same verb is used with the preposition ל , "Or wilt thou leave, i. e. commit, thy labor to him?" In Ps. x. 14, the same verb is used with the preposition ל ; "The poor committeth himself to thee." See also Job x. 1; Is. x. 3; Jer. xlix. 11. From these instances we feel authorized to draw the conclusion, that the verb in question, followed by the preposition ב or a similar one, denotes committal to a person or place, not abandoning in a place. When rest in a place is denoted, as in Exod. ix. 21, "He that regarded not the word of the Lord, left his cattle in the field," the preposition ל is used.

Hengstenberg, while he admits that the correct rendering is, *Thou wilt not leave, or give me up, to the grave*, supposes

that Sheol is here represented not as a place, but as a rapacious monster; and that the meaning is, "Thou wilt not abandon me to the power of *Sheol*," so as *to be retained* by it. It is true that in Isaiah v. 14, in reference to the vast numbers that were to be slain, *Sheol*, or Hades, is represented in highly figurative language, as a monster enlarging his greedy throat. So in Proverbs, it is represented as one of those things, which never have enough. But this is not the common conception of Sheol in the Hebrew poets. It is used more than fifty times in the Old Testament, and the passages in Isaiah and Proverbs are, we believe, the only places where it is not manifestly conceived of as a place. Sometimes gates and bars are ascribed to it. It ought therefore, to be conceived of as a place, unless there be some decisive indication in the passage, where it occurs, to show that it is represented as a monster. Now in this passage we can find nothing which indicates such a figurative use of the term. On the contrary, whether the parallel word in the next line be translated *corruption*, or *pit*, it favors the supposition, that Sheol is represented as a place, and not as a rapacious monster.

Besides, if the figurative meaning of *Sheol*, contended for by Hengstenberg, be conceded, still the consideration of the train of thought which precedes the line, as well as the obvious meaning of the language, would require the sense to be, Thou wilt not *deliver me into* the power of Sheol, and not, Thou wilt not *suffer me to be retained by* this power.

We believe, therefore, that the true meaning of the line is, "Thou wilt not suffer me to be brought to the grave, or to a premature death, by the enemies which threaten me." This meaning is confirmed in my opinion, by a correct interpretation of the line which follows; "Nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see the pit."

The rendering "*holy one*" is one of the few instances, in which the common version departs from the received text, which is in the plural, *קִדְמוֹת*, *holy ones*. If the received text be correct, any particular application of the line to Jesus would of course be out of the question. The received text has the circumstance in its favor, that it is the more difficult reading, and is supported by the authority of the most distinguished critics. We cannot, however,

agree with De Wette, that it is more appropriate to the connexion. We think it less so, and for this reason chiefly are in favor of the various reading in the singular, supported, as it is, by manuscripts and versions. By *holy one*, we understand *me, who am devoted to thee*. See Ps. lxxxvi. 2.

But חַפְּזִי should be translated *pit*, and not *corruption*. Hebrew usage is too clear on this point to admit of a doubt.

Thus, in Ps. xxx. 9:

What will my blood profit thee, that I should go down to the pit?

Here the same word חַפְּזִי is used, and that it denotes a place, is evident from the verb *go down*, which is connected with it. It is to be observed that this psalm is ascribed to David, and with as great probability as the sixteenth.

The third verse of this psalm also deserves notice:

Thou hast raised me up from the grave [*Sheol*],

Thou hast kept me alive that I should not go down to *the pit*.

Here the word, parallel to *Sheol*, is חַפְּזִי, but בּוֹר, about the signification of which there is no question.

In Ps. xlix. 9, we have also an important instance of the use of the word חַפְּזִי:

That he should live to eternity,

And not see *the pit*.

Here, from the contrast with the preceding line, it is evident that "to see the pit" means "to die," or be brought to the grave, and that this is the meaning, even if חַפְּזִי be rendered *corruption*.

In Ps. vii. 15, we read, —

He made a pit [בּוֹר] and digged it,

And is fallen into the ditch, which he made.

Here, for want of a better synonym, חַפְּזִי is rendered "ditch"; but that it denotes a *pit*, and not *corruption*, there can be no question.

חַפְּזִי is also the word translated *pit* in the common version, in Job xxxiii. 24, 28, 30, and translated *grave*, in verse 22.

²⁴ Deliver him from going down to *the pit*, &c.

²⁸ He will deliver his soul [him] from going into *the pit*, &c.

³⁰ To bring back his soul [him] from *the pit*, &c.

²² Yea, his soul [he] draweth near unto *the grave*.

See also Prov. xxvi. 27; Ezek. xix. 4, 8.

That שחת, therefore, being formed from שח to *sink down*, commonly denotes *pit*, and is hence used to denote *Sheol* or the grave, seems to be indisputably settled by usage.

It has been maintained, however, that this word may be from שח, to *destroy*, and hence denote *corruption* in the grave, and three verses are adduced as favorable to this supposition; Job xvii. 14; Ps. lv. 24, and Jer. xiii. 7. But the passage in Job may well be rendered thus:

I say to the pit, Thou art my father,
And to the worm, My sister, and my mother.

Thus the parallelism is sufficiently preserved, and surely it is highly probable that the word is used in the same sense as by the same author in xxxiii. 22, 24, 28, 30. As to the objection that שח is in the feminine gender, it is well known that exactness is not observed in such cases by the Hebrew writers.

In Ps. lv. 24, we find שחת used in connexion with another noun signifying *pit*. לְקַאֵר שַׁחַת. But it is not contrary to Hebrew usage to repeat synonymous nouns for the sake of emphasis. These words may therefore be rendered, —

Thou wilt bring them down to the deepest pit.

So Ps. xl. 3, טִיט חֵת, *clay of mire*, i. e. *miry clay*. Even if this idiom could not be supported, it would be more probable that one of the words was a gloss, than that שח should be understood in a sense unauthorized by general usage.

Supposing, however, that שחת is, in the passage under consideration, derived from the verb signifying to *destroy*, and that we should translate the line, "Nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see destruction," still it is to be remembered that this verb denotes *destruction* as of countries, cities, walls, nations, &c. and not *putrefaction*. See the Lexicons. We have reason to think that διαφθοράν in the Septuagint was understood in this general sense in this verse, as it certainly is in numerous other passages. The meaning will thus be, "Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to be destroyed, to be put to a premature death by his enemies." Jer. xiii. 7, is the only passage which seems to authorize the meaning to *putrefy*, or to *be dissolved*, as one of the senses of the verb שח; but we see not why the general meaning of *destruction* will not apply to this verse, the assertion being, that the girdle of Jeremiah was destroyed, *ruined*.

But we have seen that the reasons for the rendering "*pit*" are overwhelming. We conclude, therefore, that we have translated the verse correctly, and that the meaning is, "Thou wilt not suffer me to come to a premature grave by the hands of my enemies."

The interpretation of the last verse depends upon that of the preceding part of the psalm. If we have rightly explained it, this verse will mean, "Thou wilt show me the means of preserving my life, or of obtaining deliverance and happiness; Thou hast in thy gift fulness of joy, and perpetual pleasures."

In a case, in which the meaning of the words is so well settled by Scripture usage, it is evident that tradition and authority are of little consequence. Ancient versions are of use to help us to the meaning of single words, when Scripture usage fails us. Of still less consequence are the opinions of the Fathers. We will not, therefore, undertake to give the history of the interpretation of this psalm. It is worth observing, however, that the most distinguished scholars, such as Hammond, Grotius, Le Clerc, Calvin, &c. suppose that David is the subject of the psalm throughout, and that it is only in a mystical sense, that it can be applied to Christ. The vast majority of critics have also been of opinion that the greater part of the psalm applies to David. In this, as in other cases, the advocates of a double sense are unbiassed judges of the primary meaning of a passage.

The contents, then, of the sixteenth psalm are as follows: The author and subject of it, probably David, prays for help, acknowledges his dependence upon God, expresses his hatred of idolatry, his satisfaction with the condition assigned him, his confidence in divine aid to deliver him from threatening calamity, and his hopes of future protection and favor. The death or resurrection of no person is expressed or implied in the psalm.

But we have admitted that Peter and Paul found the death and resurrection of Jesus in this psalm. Consequently we admit that they were in an error. And if so in this case, they may be so in other cases where they have used the language of the Old Testament.

Human reason must necessarily be the interpreter of the Bible. If this reason, exercised in subjection to established

laws of interpretation, bring us to conclusions different from those to which the Apostles arrived, we cannot give them up without undermining the authority of Revelation. For how do we know that we understand the meaning of any interpretation of a passage by the Apostles? How do we know, for instance, that the Apostles Peter and Paul supposed Jesus to be referred to in the sixteenth psalm? How, but by the exercise of our reason? We have admitted, what some have denied, that these Apostles did understand the psalm, as above stated. But we are not more confident of it, than we are that our own interpretation of the psalm is correct. We must bid defiance to more numerous and weighty reasons, in order to make that psalm apply to any one but David, or one of his age, than in denying that Peter or Paul supposed Jesus to be the subject of any part of the psalm.

The truth is, that the Evangelists and Apostles never claimed to be inspired reasoners and interpreters. Where is the passage, in which they say, "This interpretation is true. I know it by miraculous inspiration"? They *reason* with their hearers in the mode prevailing at the time, as in the case of the psalm abovementioned, and thus refer the matter to the tribunal of common sense. Their arguments are not conclusive to us, because the state of opinion in the nineteenth century is different from what was the state of opinion in the Apostolic age. The Jews of that age had no correct views of the nature of language, or the principles of interpretation, as has been mentioned before. The Apostles partook of the errors and prejudices of their age in things in which Christ had not instructed them. There is no evidence, nor any color of reason for the supposition, that, when Christian truth was poured into their minds, all their previous notions and prejudices were poured out. Long after the ascension of Jesus and the day of Pentecost, a miracle was necessary to convince the Apostle Peter, that gentiles as well as Jews were to be admitted to the privileges of Christianity. Neither can we perceive any advantage to be derived from the Apostles' being inspired as reasoners and interpreters, unless their hearers had also been inspired with sound principles of logic and interpretation. That some of the interpretations of the Apostles are incorrect, and some of their

reasonings inconclusive, only proves, therefore, that they were not inspired in matters, in which inspiration would have been of no use. They might be perfectly competent, nay, supernaturally aided, to preach and record the doctrines of Jesus, and the facts concerning his life, death, and resurrection, and yet be left to their own resources to maintain and recommend those truths, and call attention to those facts.

They may have endeavoured to do away Jewish prejudices by reasoning on Jewish principles from books held sacred by the Jews, when, if they had been addressing Athenians, they would have contented themselves with the proof of the facts on which Christianity is founded. They may have been taught of God in regard to the essential truths of Christianity, and yet not be infallible in all the means, which they used for recommending those truths to their hearers. If they have alleged proof of the divine authority of Jesus satisfactory to ourselves, we need not be concerned, if some of their arguments, used for the same purpose, are conclusive only on suppositions, and according to modes of interpretation, which we do not adopt in common with their Jewish hearers. The essential doctrines of Christianity are eternal truth for all men in all ages. The means used by the sacred writers for recommending and maintaining them are adapted to the circumstances and modes of thinking of their own age. We see not why they should have been inspired as reasoners and interpreters, rather than their successors from that time to this.

It appears to us that Christianity has suffered much from the connection with its defence, of propositions, which are untenable. The commonly received doctrine of the inspiration of all the writings included in the Bible, is a millstone hung round its neck, sufficient to sink it. That Christianity has been able to sustain, not only itself, but the mighty mass of errors, which have been connected with it, from the time of the Judaizing Christians to the present day, is a fact which speaks strongly of the strength of its evidence. But, the time has come, when the religion of Christ must be separated from extraneous and doubtful propositions, in order to be sustained. The objections to Christianity, which are now most common, arise from certain false views of the character and use of the Scriptures. They are

brought, not so much against the evidence of Revelation as being defective, as against the credibility of what is alleged to be the revelation. Men hear the Bible constantly represented as the word of God ; and yet they know that it contains much which is not the word of God. Their objections fall to the ground, when the true character and use of the Scriptures are explained ; when the distinction is pointed out between the revelation itself, or the word of God, and the records of this revelation, the history of those to whom it was made, the accounts of its propagation, and the various arguments used by its early advocates for its defence and recommendation. It is true, that the Bible contains the word of God. It contains also many things which have no claim to that appellation. It contains probably all that could be collected, at a certain period, of the literature of the Hebrews, their history, poetry, ethics. Besides the word of God, it contains the words of many wicked men. It contains some unwarrantable language from the lips of pious men, such as Job,* the Psalmists,† and Jeremiah.‡ The early history of the Jews enters sometimes into disgusting details, unsuited to the taste and moral feeling of the present age. The New Testament contains histories of the life and discourses of our Divine Teacher, the acts and teachings of his Apostles, and various letters argumentative and hortatory, instructive in all ages, but specially adapted to the circumstances of the early Christians. Now when you call the contents of this whole collection of writings the word of God, or divine revelation, you assert a proposition, which is not true, and which is a stumblingblock to thousands. The divine authority of Christ can be maintained. The truth of his doctrines and the obligation of his precepts rest on a foundation which cannot be shaken. They are worthy of God, and come from one whose authority was established by miracles. The correctness of all the reasonings, sentiments, and statements contained in the Bible is by no means an essential part of the belief of a Christian. The important distinction is to be made between the word of God, or the essential doctrines of Revelation, and the writings which contain it, or the various means used, by those

* See Job, Ch. iii.
† Jer. xviii. 21 - 23.

† Ps. lxix. cix. cxxxvii.

to whom it was communicated, to transmit, defend, and recommend it.*

But to return to our subject; we differ, as has been seen, from most of those who have replied to Collins. We concede that the Evangelists and Apostles have misunderstood and misapplied certain passages of the Old Testament, but maintain that the divinity of Christianity is not affected by these errors. We believe, too, that many of the passages of the Old Testament, which are applied to the circumstances of our Saviour's life, are only so applied for the purpose of rhetorical illustration, or in the way of argument *ex concessis*, or *ad hominem*.

One point more remains to be considered, viz. the use made of the Old Testament by Jesus himself. In what sense did he claim to be the Messiah, and in what sense did he suppose that any passages in the Old Testament were fulfilled in him?

We remark first, that there is a necessary peculiarity in the language of Jesus arising from the circumstance that he was the founder of a new religion; that he was sent to introduce a new and more spiritual dispensation, and to abolish the peculiarities of Judaism. Now in introducing the new ideas relating to the Christian dispensation, he must either make a new language, or endeavour to connect new ideas with old terms, then in use among the Jews. This latter was evidently the method of Jesus, not only in relation to the subject under consideration, but to other subjects.†

When he began to teach, he found that a temporal deliverer and king was expected by the Jews, called by them "the Messiah," "the Son of God," &c., and the phrases "kingdom of God," "kingdom of heaven," &c. in use to denote the reign of this great king. He found the Jews expecting a new dispensation, but of a temporal character, to be introduced by the Messiah, as their final deliverer. Now it is remarkable, that Jesus nowhere tells the Jews, or even his own disciples, expressly, — "Ye are not to expect a king ;

* On this subject see a useful dissertation by J. A. H. Tittmann, — *De discrimine disciplinæ Christi et Apostolorum*, in the *Commentationes Theologicae*, published by Rosenmueller, Maurer, &c.

† See the very valuable remarks in Norton's "Statement of Reasons," &c. pp. 211, 212, and from 313 to the end.

your hopes of an earthly kingdom are wholly unfounded." See his answer to James and John, Matt. xx. 23, and to others after his resurrection, Acts i. 7. His method was to use the language respecting the Messiah and his kingdom then in use, and by subsequent, gradual, and indirect explanation to remove the ideas, which the Jews attached to that language, and to substitute his own. This method must be regarded, not as giving his interpretation of the language of the Prophets, but only as using that kind of language, as a means of introducing his doctrines, and establishing his claims, as a divine teacher.

We know that Jesus was not a king, according to the received use of language, — in the sense, which the Prophets seem to attach to the word when they announce the coming of a Messiah. He came as a religious teacher, appealing to the understanding and heart, and resisted every temptation to the assumption of political power.

He yet claimed to be a king in some sense, and to be the Messiah in some sense. And he has not left us to doubt in what sense he understood his claim. Very remarkable and satisfactory in regard to this point is his language before Pilate, John xviii. 37. "Pilate said to him, 'So thou art a king then?' Jesus answered, 'Yes, I am a king. For this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world, *that I might bear witness to the truth*. Every one, who is on the side of truth, *heareth my voice*,'" that is, obeys me. Here he evidently explained to Pilate, that he claimed to be a king in the sense of being an extraordinary promulgator of the truth; in being the authoritative guide of all who are led by the love of the truth to listen to his voice, and obey him. We may, therefore, suppose that he assumed the title of Messiah in a similar sense, and that, when he affirmed that he was the Messiah, he only affirmed in figurative language, that he was the inspired teacher from God, for whose instructions the Jewish dispensation had been a preparation, and who was designed by God to fulfill his great purposes in relation to the instruction of the Jewish nation and of the world.

In John xviii. 36, Jesus says, "My kingdom is not of this world"; i. e. it is not a political, but a spiritual kingdom; not a temporal sovereignty, for then would my subjects fight, like the subjects of temporal kings.

In Luke xvii. 20, 21, we have another important illustration of the sense in which our Saviour understood his claims to be a king, or the Messiah. "The coming of the kingdom of God is not to be observed; nor will men say, Behold it is here, or, Behold, it is there! *for behold the kingdom of God is within you.*"* We need not remark, how well this accords with his language to Pilate.

In Mat. xvi. 28, he says, "I tell you in truth, there are some of those standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming to reign;" i. e. till they shall know that his religion is securely established; as appears from a comparison of this passage with that last quoted, and with fact. By the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, the question between Jesus and the Jews in regard to his religion was in some measure decided, and the greatest obstacle to the propagation of it removed.

In John xiii. 31, he says, "Now is the Son of man glorified," i. e. by his death, which was to be the principal means of establishing his religion in the world. See also Mat. xviii. 1 — 4. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 29. †

It appears to us evident from the preceding passages, that the principal idea, which Jesus attached to the kingdom, which he professed to set up, was the dominion of truth and duty in the minds of men. This kingdom commenced, when a single follower received his religion in a proper manner. And when he speaks of coming to reign at a future time, as in Mat. xvi. 28, he refers to the greater progress of what was already begun, the extensive acknowledgment of what was generally denied. Jesus claimed to be a king, when he stood a prisoner before Pilate. It is true, however, that the happy consequences, in this world and the future, of a reception of the truth and obedience of the precepts of Jesus, are sometimes included in the meaning of the kingdom of God.

But, should we suppose with some writers, that the kingdom of Christ refers principally to his state of exaltation after his resurrection from the dead, we do not see that the language of the Prophets is more literally fulfilled in him, than on the preceding supposition. Whatever may be the in-

* Norton's Translation, as given in his Statement of Reasons, &c.

† See Hammond, *ad loc.*

visible reign of Christ in heaven, it certainly does not correspond to the glorious reign of a temporal king on earth, as it is set forth by the Hebrew prophets. Whatever agency Jesus may now exercise in the government of the world, all will allow that it affects only the willing soul, and is not a government of force like that of temporal sovereigns.

The evidence, which our Saviour adduces to support his claims, seems to show that he claimed to be a king, or the Messiah, in the sense of being sanctified and sent into the world to be the revealer of God's character and will. This is the ground, which he himself assigns for the assumption of one of the titles of the Messiah. "Say ye of him, whom the Father *sanctified and sent* into the world, 'Thou blasphemest,' because I said, 'I am the son of God'? If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him."

So John x. 24, 25. "'If thou be the Messiah, tell us plainly.' Jesus answered them, 'I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.'" Now miracles prove Jesus to be the Messiah, only in the general sense above mentioned. To show that he corresponded to a particular person or character predicted in the Old Testament, passages from the Old Testament, and not miracles would have been the appropriate evidence.

John v. 36. "The works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father sent me." Thus Jesus makes it his great aim to prove that he was a divine messenger, and thus, that his doctrines were true, and his precepts obligatory.

By using the language relating to the Messiah and his kingdom as the vehicle for announcing his claims, Jesus virtually denied, that any future messenger from God was to appear to the Jews. This language conveys the idea, that he was the last messenger of God to the nation; the agent, whose office it was to close the ancient, and introduce a new economy.

Whether, as a person, he be the subject of prophecy or not, he was sent by God to accomplish purposes, which the Hebrew prophets supposed would be accomplished by a Messiah, to promote the knowledge of God, and produce peace and good will among men. He came to introduce a

spiritual dispensation in place of one, which had led the souls of prophets and righteous men to long for a better. He was the end of the law for righteousness. He might, therefore, assume the character of Messiah, though he had not been the subject of miraculous prediction. He was *anointed* with the holy spirit and with power to accomplish the best purposes, which the prophets supposed would be accomplished by a Messiah, though he came not arrayed in the robes of royalty, as their imaginations had represented him; though his religion was established in the world, by the destruction, rather than by the prosperity and glory of the Jewish nation; and though he completed his work by martyrdom, and not by victory.

But can the particular quotations, made by Jesus from the Old Testament, be reconciled with the preceding views?

Some of the more difficult passages of this kind, Luke xxiv. 25—27, 44—48; Mat. xxii. 41—45; John xvii. 12, are explained in the *Christian Examiner*, Vol. V. pp. 55, 56. There are no other passages, which present any greater difficulty than those. See John xiii. 18; Mat. xxvi. 31, 54; Mark ix. 12, xii. 10; John vii. 38, xv. 25. Some of these are plain instances of the use of Scripture language merely to express what happened to Jesus, without supposition, on the part of the writer, of its miraculous fulfillment.

Mat. xxvi. 24; Mark xiv. 21; Luke xxii. 22; are worthy of notice, as showing, that we cannot feel sure that we have the exact words of Jesus, in relation to the subject. Matthew and Mark say, "The son of man, indeed, goeth," i. e. dieth, "as it is *written* of him." But Luke has it, "And truly the son of man goeth, *as it was determined*;" κατὰ τὸ ὁρισμένον. Corresponding to this, is the language of Peter; "Him being delivered by the determined counsel and foreknowledge of God." That Luke has conveyed to us the views of Jesus in his references to the Old Testament, is highly probable. He meant to convey the idea, that his death and sufferings were not accidental, and were not evidence of the failure of his mission, but were rather appointed of God as the means of fulfilling his mission, and completing the plan of Providence, which was partially unfolded in the Jewish dispensation, and partially accomplished by the sufferings of previous prophets. Hence, in the near view of his

sufferings and death, he could make the sublime exclamation, "Now is the Son of man glorified."

But we must close. We have omitted many topics relating to the subject, and only glanced at others. It is a subject for a volume, rather than for the pages of a review. We trust that we have done something to facilitate the inquiries of others into the subject. We hope that the labors of some of our theologians may be directed to it. We should be as glad to have our views refuted, as to have them confirmed, provided some more tenable and satisfactory theory can be substituted in their place. Having come to the conclusion, that the language of the Prophets, in the sense which we have reason to suppose that they assigned to it, gives us no intimations of a suffering, dying Messiah, or one who should rise from the dead, and no clear and proper predictions which were fulfilled in Jesus personally, we have endeavoured to suggest views tending to reconcile this fact with the language of Jesus, and the authority of the Christian revelation. If there be any better way of explaining the subject without violence to established principles of interpretation in the explanation of the Old Testament, and without supposing that Jesus understood passages in the Old Testament in a mystical sense, we should be glad to know it.

Theories like that of Hengstenberg, or of the advocates of a double sense, will not stand the scrutinizing logic of the present age. We have labored and prayed, that we might arrive at the truth on the subject. Let the same principles and rules of interpretation be applied to the Old Testament, which are applied to all other books, and, if better views can be presented in regard to its relation to the facts and reasonings in the New, we should rejoice to see them.

"Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."

ART. IV. — *The Life of FRIEDRICH SCHILLER, comprehending an Examination of his Works.* From the London edition. Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. 294.

HE who is called to be a prophet in his generation, — whose office it is to unfold new forms of truth and beauty, — enjoys, among other prerogatives peculiar to his calling, the privilege of a two-fold life. He is at once a dweller in the dust, and a denizen of that land where all truth and beauty spring. The genius that is linked with him, has its own world, and his earthly fortunes are chiefly memorable as the conditions of its developement, or as the fruits of its action. While his mortal part, according to necessary and everlasting laws, fulfills its destiny in the great circle of Nature, the free spirit labors joyfully in that invisible kingdom to whose service it has been called. Oftimes, however, the mortal and the spiritual, the earthly calling and the high calling, the prophet and the man, are so interwoven, that it becomes almost impossible to distinguish the one from the other. Hence the biography of such an one, when conceived in the spirit of this double nature, is a task of peculiar difficulty. The biographer must not only exhibit each part of his subject in its individual distinctness and fulness, but he must also explain the relation between them; he must show how the intellectual life has sprung from the earthly condition, and how the earthly condition has in turn been modified by the intellectual life. Now it is evident, that none but an *auto*-biography can fully satisfy the conditions of such a problem, inasmuch as the whole mystery of the connexion between the mortal and the spiritual, can be known only to individual consciousness. But so far as it is possible for one mind to interpret another, — so far as it is possible for the disciple of one nation or literature to comprehend and exhibit the intellectual offspring of a different nation and literature, so far this object has been accomplished in the work before us. The “Biography of Schiller” is a production of no ordinary merit, from whatever point of view we regard it; to us, it is chiefly remarkable as one of the very few instances in which full justice has been rendered by an English mind, to the character and claims of a foreign

writer. Exclusiveness has been ever the besetting sin of that nation. Possessing a literature of their own, unequalled since the Greek, they seem never to have dreamed that any thing could be gained by a free intercourse with the genius of other climes. And yet there is no literature so rich, but it may be improved by grafts of foreign growth. The Germans have acted in this respect more liberally and more wisely. By means of translations, which seem rather to reproduce, than to interpret their respective originals, these indefatigable cultivators have succeeded in naturalizing the choice products of every zone. Their late luxuriant harvest of native produce has been rendered more luxuriant still, by a matchless collection of exotics; and an acquaintance with the German has now become an introduction to all that is beautiful and good of every age and clime.

The "Life of Schiller" is distinguished by its clear and happy method, its luminous critiques, and its just appreciation of the characteristic excellences and deficiencies of the poet whom it portrays. From scanty materials the author has constructed a work full of instruction, and pregnant with more than romantic interest. A life unusually barren of vicissitude, is made to appear eventful in the strong light which is thrown upon the revolutions of a master mind. In short, this biography is what the biography of a poet should always be,—the history of a mind rather than the history of a person, a record of thoughts and feelings rather than of events, a faithful exposition of the struggles and vicissitudes, the trials and the triumphs, which have befallen a human intellect in the service of truth.

The few literary faults, which an impartial critic might discover, have arisen almost entirely from the want of a sufficient acquaintance with the German idiom. The author's translations are for the most part excellent; occasionally, however, a misapprehension of some word or phrase has betrayed him into errors, which sometimes distort, but oftener weaken the original. The most important of these errors have been pointed out and judiciously corrected by the American editor; the few that remain are, comparatively, trifling. In some instances they seem to be wilful deviations from, rather than misapprehensions of the poet's meaning.

Not to dwell, however, on these *literary* imperfections, there is one portion of this work,—we rejoice to say *only* one,—

of which we feel ourselves constrained to express a decided disapprobation. We allude to the manner in which our author mentions Schiller's use of stimulants. This practice, he seems to regard, as not only innocent, but praiseworthy; the evils, which sprung from it, — the enfeebling of the bodily frame and the shortening of life, are represented as noble sacrifices to the cause of letters. "It was an error so to waste his strength; but one of those, which increase rather than diminish our respect; originating, as it did, in generous ardor for what was best and grandest, they must be cold censurers, that can condemn it harshly. For ourselves, we lament, but honor this excess of zeal; its effects were mournful, but its origin was noble." We believe that much mischief is done by such representations, or, indeed, by any exposure of similar practices on the part of distinguished men. Young aspirants after literary eminence are led, by the hearing of such things, to believe that there is some essential connexion between the faults and the fame of the great, and that the one will necessarily lead to the other. We have seen effects of this kind produced in more than one instance by Byron's reported eulogy of gin. It is much to be regretted, that poets should ever resort to other sources of inspiration than the natural fountains of their own spiritual being; but, if such things be, let them be buried and forgotten. The biographer is bound by no obligation that we can understand, to reveal these secrets of the fleshly prison-house; if he must reveal them, let it not be in the spirit of commendation, but with the rebuke which the error deserves.

We shall not dwell any longer on this part of our subject. Indeed our purpose in taking up this work, was not to discuss the merits of the biography. We wish to speak of the illustrious poet whose memory it is designed to honor.

The name of Friedrich Schiller has been honorably known to the literary world for half a century. Nearly thirty years have elapsed since his decease, yet the memory of his poetic achievements is as fresh in the minds of his countrymen as if he had died but yesterday. A more brilliant fame has seldom fallen to the lot of any poet; and never did poet struggle more faithfully to win it. He was not one of those for whom fortune prepares the way, and whose paths are made straight by the machinery of circumstances; he belongs to that noble army who have raised

themselves to the summit of humanity with no other machinery than the buoyancy of their own genius. Born in poverty, bred in obscurity, bound to an institution which warred with every natural expression of the soul and delighted in torturing all minds into one mould, trained to a profession which deals emphatically with the flesh, — the world was all against him. But he had a soul that could overcome the world. Let those who are accustomed to derive every manifestation of the mind from outward circumstances explain, if they can, the phenomenon of a poem originating under such circumstances as these. Yet, it was while thus circumstanced, at the age of eighteen, that Schiller produced the *Robbers*. Our biographer says ; “ There seems no doubt that but for so mean a cause as the perverted discipline of the Stuttgart school, we had never seen this tragedy.” We cannot agree with him. Schiller’s sufferings at Stuttgart may have furnished the coloring of this drama ; but, without the inborn spirit of poesy that possessed him, all the discipline in the world would not have produced it. Where that spirit is, it *will* speak. In Schiller it spoke the louder no doubt, for the restraints which opposed it. Its first accents were strong and terrible. It spoke with an angry scream, which pierced every soul from the Rhine to the Baltic, and startled the eagles of dominion on their ancient sceptres. Such a voice had never been heard in Germany since Luther called her from the bondage of Rome. It was a prophecy of that tempest which soon after burst upon Europe and changed the face of empires. A true image of man, as he exists in his native strength and majesty, undisguised by old conventions, was held up to the world, and tyrants trembled as they gazed. Germany was soon filled with the fame of “ The Robbers.” It went into every circle, and for a time supplanted every other work. The Sorrows of Werter were forgotten in the agonies of Moor, and *Götz with the iron hand*, the hero of history, dwindled into insignificance before this giant-child of the imagination.

The class of writings, to which this work belongs, is peculiar, we believe, to modern times. It is characterized by a spirit of fierce disquietude, a dissatisfaction with the whole mechanism of society, and a presumptuous questioning of all that God or man has ordained. It represents a state of being which no word or combination of words can exactly express ; a disease peculiar to ardent natures, in early life :

"The flash and outbreak of a fiery mind ;
A savageness of unreclaimed blood ;"

a keen sensibility to all that is absurd and oppressive in social life, a scorning of authority and custom, a feeling that all the uses of this world are weary and unprofitable, together with the consciousness of high powers, bright visions of ideal excellence, and a restless yearning after things not granted to man. To those who are not acquainted with German works of this description, Shelley's and Byron's poetry may serve as English samples. "The Robbers" is, on the whole, the most innocent work of the kind to which it belongs. Heinse's "Ardinghello," a contemporary production of the same class, is a very impure book, the tendency of "Werter" is questionable, and that of "Faust" still more so ; but Schiller's drama, we will venture to affirm, never did injury to the morals of any one. The allegation that young men have been made highwaymen by it, is unsupported by any evidence that we have been able to discover. It seems to us just about as probable that "The Robbers" should produce this effect, as that any one should be induced by one of Cooper's novels to join a tribe of Indians. Our author has said with truth, that the publication of "The Robbers" forms an era in the literature of the world. With the exception of "Faust," we know of no work since Shakspeare, that possesses half its power ; we mean that kind of power which is evinced by fertility of imagination, and by vivid expression of passionate emotions. In this latter respect, "The Robbers" exceeds every thing of the kind. "The Corsair" and "The Giaour" are pastoral eclogues compared with it. The play has innumerable faults, it is objectionable throughout in point of manner, it abounds in puerilities and in violations of the most obvious rules of taste ; and yet, with all these deductions, it still remains, in our estimation, the most effective of Schiller's works, and it seems to us, that the promise implied in this early effort was never fully realized. In expressing this opinion we do not mean to contradict the German critics and Schiller himself, who agree in condemning "The Robbers" for its juvenile extravagance. We agree with them that the author's later works, beginning with "Don Carlos," are far preferable as finished specimens of art ; they evince a greater reach of thought, clearer judgment, maturer views of nature and life,

and a better acquaintance with the rules, the limits, and the true objects of art. But the genuine power of genius is far less strongly impressed upon these later works; not one of them possesses the glow and the strength, which characterize this singular production. This stands alone in the literary history of its author and of the age to which it belongs. We have translated the following passage, not because we think it the most striking in this play, but because among those that *are* striking, it is less frequently quoted than many others. It is the dream of Franz von Moor, the parricide, related to an aged servant whom he had a short time before commissioned to murder his brother. He feels that a life of atrocious villany is about drawing to its close, and the furies of a guilty conscience begin to lay hold upon him.

"*Franz.* Stay! Sit down on this sofa beside me! so, — you are a wise man, a good man! Now let me relate to you.

"*Daniel.* Not now, another time! Let me put you to bed, rest is better for you.

"*Franz.* No, I beg of you, let me tell you, and then laugh heartily at me! D'ye see, I dreamed I had given a sumptuous entertainment, my heart was full of good cheer, and I lay overcome with wine on a plot of grass in my castle garden. Suddenly, — it was the hour of noon, — suddenly — but promise to laugh at me!

"*Daniel.* Suddenly?

"*Franz.* Suddenly an enormous clap of thunder struck my slumbering ear. I started, trembling, to my feet, and behold it appeared to me that the whole horizon was flaming and blazing with living fire; mountains, woods, and cities were melting like wax in the furnace; and a howling tempest swept away sea, sky, and earth. And a voice sounded as from a brazen trumpet: 'Earth, give up thy dead! Sea, give up thy dead!' And immediately the naked fields began to bring forth and to cast up skulls, and ribs, and bones, which formed themselves into human bodies, and streamed along in countless numbers, a living storm. Then I looked upward, and behold I stood at the foot of thundering Sinai, and above and around me it swarmed with life, and on the summit of the mountain, upon three fiery thrones, sat three men before whose countenance the creature fled.

"*Daniel.* Why, that is an exact picture of the judgment-day.

"*Franz.* Ridiculous stuff, is it not? Then one of the three came forward; his presence was like the starry night, and he

had in his hand an iron seal, and he held it between morning and evening, and said: 'For ever holy, just, and true. There is but *one* Truth, there is but *one* Virtue! Woe, woe, woe to the worm that doubteth!' Then the second came forward. He had in his hand a polished mirror, and he held it between morning and evening, and said: 'This mirror is truth, hypocrisy and lies cannot stand before it.' Then I, and they who were with me, started, for we saw serpent and tiger faces reflected from that dread mirror. Then the third came forward. He had in his hand a brazen scale, and he held it between morning and evening, and said: 'Draw near, ye children of Adam! I weigh the thoughts of men in the scale of mine anger, and their deeds in the balance of my wrath!'

"*Daniel*. God be merciful!

"*Franz*. We all stood pale as snow, and anxious expectation throbbed in every breast. Then I thought I heard my name called first from amid the thunders of the mount, and my innermost marrow froze within me, and my teeth chattered aloud. And immediately the scales began to sound, and the rock thundered, and the Hours went by. One by one, they passed by the scale on the left hand, and each one, as it passed, threw in a damning sin.

"*Daniel*. May God forgive you!

"*Franz*. He did not. The scale on the left hand grew to a mountain, but the other, filled with the blood of the atonement, held it still poised in air. At last there came an old man bowed down with sorrow, his arm gnawed by raging hunger; all eyes turned toward him, I knew him well. And he severed a lock from his silver hair and threw it into the scale of transgressions, and behold it sank suddenly to the bottom, and the scale of redemption rose to the sky. Then I heard a voice from amid the smoke, saying: 'Mercy, mercy to every sinner on earth and in hell. Thou only art rejected.' (*Deep pause.*) Well, why don't you laugh?"

The scene in which Karl von Moor discovers his aged father in the dungeon of an old tower, where he had been left to die with hunger by his younger son, has been much and justly celebrated. The following tribute is paid to it by an English poet.

"Schiller! that hour I would have wished to die
If through the shuddering midnight I had sent,
From the dark dungeon of the tower time-rent,
That fearful voice, a famished father's cry,

Lest in some after moment aught more mean
Might stamp me mortal ! A triumphant shout
Black horror screamed, and all her goblin rout
Diminished shrunk from the more withering scene." *

It is certainly the sublimest conception in all Schiller's writings, and one of the sublimest in the whole compass of poetry. Were there nothing else, this alone would be sufficient to give "The Robbers" the preëminence we have ventured to claim for it as an exhibition of imaginative power. In every other respect it is surpassed by most of the author's later works. These differ much in character and in merit. "The Conspiracy of Fiesco" has nearly all the faults of "The Robbers" with none of its redeeming strength. This play moreover is rendered offensive to the reader by an unnecessary display of dramatic machinery. The list of persons in the outset is furnished with stage directions, showing how each character is to look, speak, and behave; and scarcely a speech of any importance occurs throughout the whole piece without an accompanying parenthetical notice, acquainting us with the tone and look with which it is uttered; as, for example:

"Leonora, (*with a look that says much.*) From my anger you have nothing to fear."

"Leonora, (*with a sarcastic expression.*) Love?"

"Fiesco. Come hither, painter. (*Very proud and with dignity,*) You make republics free with your pencil, but cannot break your own chains. (*Full and commanding,*) Go! your work is deception. Let the appearance yield to the reality. (*With greatness, throwing down the picture,*) I HAVE DONE what you have only painted."

Such directions betray a weakness in the author, who ought to make his language tell its own story. When a poet resorts to such measures, and, instead of satisfying the claims of the reader from the resources of his own genius, "puts him off with an order on the player,"† he confesses himself unequal to the task he has undertaken. The actor too, we suspect, is more perplexed than aided by such instructions. How, for example, is he to demean himself when directed to appear great? He must *be* great indeed, if he does not appear

* Coleridge. Sonnet to the author of "The Robbers."

† Schlegel.

ridiculous in the attempt. *Σὺ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς*, "You make yourself long instead of great," was said to an ancient mimic, who, being required to express in gesture the greatness of Agamemnon, raised himself on tiptoe. The modern actor, when burdened with a like demand, would be apt, we fancy, to commit a similar blunder, and incur a similar reproach.

"*Kabale und Liebe*" ("Intrigue and Love") is a clever production, but it is one which might have proceeded from a pen less able than Schiller's. "*Don Carlos*" is distinguished by a majesty and a pathos which command our admiration in spite of criticism. The principal faults and the chief excellences of this piece lie near together. The Marquis Posa, the most distinguished personage in the play, is certainly a splendid creation, but hardly a fit subject for the drama. He is too ideal for that species of composition,* and too great for the subordinate station which he occupies. Carlos is the intended hero of the piece, but he is overshadowed by the heroism of Posa, and that heroism is of too ethereal a nature to be made a topic of secondary interest, — a part of the machinery employed in developing a plot. We are dazzled with the splendor of the Marquis's sacrifice, but cannot help feeling that the sacrifice is out of all proportion to its object, and are half inclined to agree with the Queen when she tells him, "You have rushed upon this act which you call sublime. Deny it not. You have long thirsted for it. Though thousand hearts should break, it moves you not, so you gratify your pride. You are seeking admiration only." Besides, Posa is meant to interest us by the purity of his moral character; yet the act by which he incurs Philip's displeasure, is a decided immorality, revolting to every pure mind, and unjustifiable by any theory of morals that was ever framed. The interview between the King and the chief Inquisitor is striking beyond any thing of the kind that we have ever met with. The stubborn pride, the inexorable tyranny of Castilian majesty, and the dread power of the Romish church, are personified in these two men. The revolutionary spirit of Carlos, and a desire to be revenged on Posa, have determined the King to deliver his son into the hands of the Inquisition. "Can

* Schiller has endeavoured to answer this objection in his letters on "*Don Carlos*," but, as it appears to us, without success.

you," he asks the aged chief of that tribunal, "can you establish for me a new faith which shall justify the bloody murder of a child? *Inquis.* To satisfy eternal justice the Son of God died on the tree. *King.* Will you engage to propagate this opinion throughout Europe? *Inquis.* Wherever the cross is worshipped. *King.* I shall sin against nature; can you also silence her mighty voice? *Inquis.* In matters of faith, nature has no voice. *King.* I resign my office into your hands. Am I free to withdraw? *Inquis.* Give him up to me. *King.* He is my only son; if I lose him, for whom have I gathered? *Inquis.* Better have gathered for *corruption* than for *liberty*."

The discrepancy between the Carlos of history and the Carlos of Schiller, is a fault which may well be pardoned for the beauty of the illusion which we owe to it.

"Maria Stuart" has fewer admirers than most of Schiller's plays. Perhaps the want of success in this drama arises from the undramatic nature of its subject. It is the office of tragedy to represent human action in conflict with human destiny. Whether the action be that of a strong passion within the soul, as in the case of Lear and of Othello, or whether it be an agency exerted upon outward objects, as in the case of Macbeth, strong action, of some kind or other, the hero of a tragedy must exhibit, and, above all, the decisive act to which he falls a victim at last, must proceed from himself.* But Mary Stuart is passive throughout this play. Her conduct towards Elizabeth does not deserve the name of dramatic action, nor does any thing else which proceeds from her in the course of the piece; and therefore, though interesting as a picture of patient suffering, she wants that kind of interest which belongs to the heroine of a tragedy.

"Wilhelm Tell" has no faults and great beauties, but it

* There are some dramatic works of acknowledged excellence which may seem to be exceptions to this rule. In the "Prometheus" of Æschylus, for example, it is *suffering* and not *action* which constitutes the main interest of the piece; but it is a suffering incurred by the voluntary *act* of the sufferer: for, though no such act is exhibited in this drama, yet as there is reason to suppose that the play constituted originally a portion of a *trilogy*; it is probable that the part preceding this, contained the act of which the sufferings in question are the consequence.

wants the glow and the life necessary to produce a strong impression. The most successful of Schiller's plays is "The Maid of Orleans." This has not indeed the fiery strength of "The Robbers," but it has beauties which "The Robbers" has not, while it is free from the faults with which that play abounds. Nor is there any want of strength; it is no longer indeed the rude vigor of undisciplined youth, but a vigor chastened by union with other elements, and reconciled with that sweetness and dignity which befit the higher provinces of creative art. "The Maid of Orleans" is an exquisitely finished work; its author has contrived to spread over it a magic harmony of coloring which softens without weakening the living energy that pervades it. The womanhood of Joanna is admirably preserved. In all those scenes of strife and slaughter with which the presence and agency of woman seem most irreconcilable, she never appears monstrous, or out of place. Her zeal and courage have not unsexed her. The warlike sternness of her nature is most happily blended with feminine grace. With equal skill, the poet has contrived to maintain the prophetic character, which the Maid claims from the beginning, and on which the movement of the piece mainly depends. Her inspiration is not a thing assumed for the nonce, but a part of her being, the natural expression of her pure and lofty soul. The soliloquy in which she takes leave of her favorite haunts, and declares her mission, furnishes a lively picture of the state of her feelings and expectations, when on the eve of quitting her native village. The original is in rhymed stanzas, of which we give the following translation.

"Farewell, ye mountains, ye beloved pastures !
Ye silent, peaceful valleys, fare ye well !
Joanna shall roam over you no more,
Joanna bids you evermore farewell.
Ye meadows that I watered, and ye trees
That I have planted, flourish gladly still !
Farewell, ye grottoes, and ye cooling springs !
Thou Echo, gentle voice of this fair vale,
Who oft hast answer given unto my songs,
Joanna goes and never will return.

Disperse ye lambs upon the heath !
Ye are a flock without a shepherd now ;

For I another herd am called to tend
On yonder blood-stained field of peril ;
So hath the Spirit's voice instructed me,
It is no earthly call that draws me hence.

For he, who from the burning bush of old,
Appeared to Moses upon Horeb's height,
And there in Pharaoh's presence bade him stand,
He, who elected Jesse's godlike son,
The shepherd-boy, to be his champion,
Who ever hath to shepherds gracious been, —
He spake to me, his handmaid, from this tree,
'Go! thou art sent to testify of me.

In iron shalt thou case thy youthful limbs,
With polished steel thy tender form enclose,
Never may mortal love within thy heart
Enkindle earthly passion's vain desire ;
Never shall bridal wreath adorn thy locks,
Nor infant bloom upon thy virgin breast ;
But I will crown thee with heroic fame,
And all earth's daughters shall revere thy name.

For when in battle France's courage quails,
And ruin threatens this devoted land,
Then shalt thou bear my sacred oriflame,
And, like the harvest in the reaper's hand,
The conqueror shall fall before thy sword,
Thou shalt reverse the tide of his success,
To France's warlike sons salvation bring,
Deliver Reims, and crown thy country's king.'

A sign from Heaven hath been vouchsafed to me ;
This helmet God hath sent, it comes from him,
Its touch inspires me with a power divine,
And with celestial courage fires my breast ;
To arms ! To arms it urges me away,
With tempest-fury hurries me along ;
I hear the battle's din, the tramp of steeds,
The banners beckon, and the trumpet pleads."

It has been objected to this drama, that it violates the truth of history. How far this is an objection we shall not at present attempt to decide. The question is one which embraces a wider field of discussion than our limits will admit. Poetical truth must be, of course, the poet's first

object ; that this is perfectly compatible with the truth of history we have no doubt. The course of human events derives its origin from a mind in which every form of truth is comprehended, and from which every form of truth proceeds. It is not, however, always possible for the finite understanding to reconcile the actual with the ideal, or to detect the harmony which exists between the movements of destiny and the rules of art. Whenever this predicament occurs, let the poet and the critic agree, if they can, which shall be sacrificed. However this question may be decided, thus much seems obvious, that the poet is bound to be faithful rather in the delineation of characters than in the representation of events. Events are generally known, at least, they are within the reach of all ; in respect to them the world is in little danger of being misled. But the means of estimating characters, removed by distance of time or place, are confined to few. Here, then, if ever, it is important that the truth of history should not be violated, and here Schiller did not violate it. In delineating the heroine of Orleans, he has adhered more strictly to reality than any other poet who has attempted the same subject. It is much to be regretted that the sanction of Shakspeare's authority has been given to the vile picture which is sometimes held up as the true likeness of that mysterious character. "Henry VI." certainly gives a more faithful representation of the general condition of that age, than Schiller's romance ; but the Joan of that play is not the Jeanne d'Arc who led the hosts of France to victory. The two have scarcely any thing in common. As to the "Pucelle" of Voltaire, no one, we presume, who is acquainted with that writer, would think of looking there for truth of any kind ; and yet the faith of the community on this subject has been somewhat influenced, we fear, by the aspersions contained in that infamous production.

On the whole, "The Maid of Orleans" is likely to remain the most popular of Schiller's dramas. And well does it deserve this preëminence. It has this distinguishing merit among others, that it vindicates the power of the human will, and is not clouded by that dark fatality which obscures the author's other works, and which, however favorable to the peculiar genius of the Drama, is by no means congenial with the higher purposes of Poetry. Above all, our grati-

tude is due to the poet who has redeemed from infamy one of the noblest characters in history, and so far forth avenged human nature against the foulest scoffer that ever warred with its finer issues. Whoever helps to increase our respect for woman, — whoever contributes any thing to strengthen our faith in the purity and the power of the female character, is a benefactor to society. This benefit has been rendered by Schiller, — this merit is due in an eminent degree to the author of "*The Maid of Orleans*," which will long remain a monument, not less to the goodness of his heart than to the power of his genius. We fully accord with the sentiment expressed in the following lines, addressed by him to his favorite heroine, in which, however, it must be allowed that the poet evinces a very sufficient sense of his own consequence and merits.

"Man's nobler nature hath been wronged in thee,
And in the dust hath thy pure fame been trod.
Wit loves to war with the soul's sovereignty,
It has no faith in angels nor in God;
The heart's best properties it turns to shame,
'Truth its pretence, but ridicule its aim.

But like thyself, sprung from a nobler line,
Herself a pious shepherdess like thee,
Fair Poesy offers thee her aid divine,
To avenge and to exalt thy memory;
With glory she 'll repay thy bitter wrong; —
Born of the spirit, thou shalt live in song.

The unfeeling world delights with obscene arts
To blacken all that 's fair and bright on earth;
But fear thou not! There still are generous hearts,
That glow with love for things of heavenly birth.
Let Momus' tribe amuse the vulgar mind,
A noble nature loves a noble kind."

In pronouncing "*The Maid of Orleans*" the most successful of Schiller's dramas, we have considered the force and singleness of the effect produced by it, rather than the amount of talent implied in its production. Success is not always a sure gauge of power. "*Wallenstein*," with less unity of effect and less theatrical truth than the play just

mentioned, discovers far greater capacities, larger resources, and a wider and deeper reach of thought. It is the richest and most philosophical of all the author's works, — a world of poetry, containing within itself every element of art, and a reflection of almost every form of mortal being. History and romance, philosophy and action, ambition and virtue, destiny and will, love and devotion, are made to pass alternately before us; and a solution of all these in the poet's own mind, furnishes the ground-tone of the piece. In this, more than in any other performance, the author has forgotten himself, and given his characters and events a purely objective being. In so doing he has fulfilled one of the first requisitions of true poetry. "Wallenstein" is a work which moves us less at first than many others, for it requires to be studied in order to be felt and understood; but it is one to which the reader will often recur, and in which he will find a boundless field of speculation. The author has not done wisely, it seems to us, in separating entirely the comic from the serious part of his subject. The former he has thrown into a kind of dramatic prologue, which is intended to give a lively picture of military life in general, and of the peculiar character which that life bore in Wallenstein's age. This part of the play is called "Wallenstein's Camp"; it is chiefly distinguished for its bold and sprightly humor, and in this respect differs from any thing else which Schiller has produced. A portion of it * has been ascribed to Goethe; if we were to judge from its internal character alone, we should pronounce him the author of the whole; in point of manner, it bears a close resemblance to "Faust." We regret, that Mr. Coleridge should have omitted this portion of "Wallenstein," in his masterly translation. The following song, which occurs at the close of the piece, though it possesses little poetical merit, paints in strong colors, the feelings and the life of a soldier of Dugald Dalgetty's age and stamp.

" Away to the field! go forth! go forth!
To freedom and glory ye gallants!
In the field the true man knows his worth,
There hearts are weighed in the balance,
There each one must stand for himself alone,
No arm can avail him there but his own.

* The Sermon of the Capuchin Friar.

Freedom is now no more to be found,
With tyrants and slaves the earth's swarming,
Fraud and oppression rule the world round,
— A cowardly race conforming ; —
He who can face death brow to brow,
The soldier's the only freeman now.

He casts away life's cares and its gloom,
No fear hath he and no sorrow,
Boldly he waits a soldier's doom,
It may come to-day or to-morrow,
If not till to-morrow, — to-day let us drain
The last dear drops in life's cup that remain.

Heaven sends us our portion, it comes with mirth,
It comes without toil or measure,
While the peasant wrings from the stingy earth
A scanty, pitiful treasure.
He toils through life a drivelling slave,
And digs and digs, till he digs his grave.

The soldier and his steed withal,
They are guests none receive without dreading ;
The lamp burns high in the bridal hall,
Unbidden we come to the wedding,
Brief is our wooing and simple our form,
The hearts that we covet we carry by storm.

Why mourneth the maiden and wringeth her hands ?
Let him go ! let his memory perish !
No home hath the soldier, he heeds no bands,
True love he may not cherish ;
Fate hurries him on an endless race,
On earth he hath no resting-place.

Then away to the field ! leave hearts and leave homes ;
Farewell to love's caresses !
While youth beats high, and life's goblet foams,
Away ere the foam effervesces !
Let him who would win his life at last,
Risk life and all on the battle's cast."

In addition to the original works, which have now been mentioned, Schiller has introduced upon the German stage some of the best specimens of the dramatic literature of

other nations. His translations from the Greek, the English, and the French are well executed, and bear honorable testimony to his diligence as well as to the extent of his acquisitions, though they cannot add to his poetic fame. As a lyric poet, Schiller occupies a high, though by no means the highest rank among the poets of his country. We must place Goethe, Uhland, and Schlegel, if not Körner, Stollberg, and several others, above him. Among his lyric productions, the ballads are, on the whole, the most successful. These were written in a spirit of friendly rivalry with Goethe, and will bear a comparison with the best works of the kind in Germany, or in any country. "*The Song of the Bell*" is enough to confer immortality on any man, and "*The Walk*" possesses, perhaps, more of the spirit of poesy than any thing else that Schiller has produced.

But the greater part of his minor poems do not, as it seems to us, do justice to his genius, nor sustain the reputation acquired by his dramatic labors. Some of them, as the "*Ideale*," for instance, like Byron's poems, betray more of personal feeling and individual purpose, than is consistent with true poetry. Others want the genuine lyric character, — that perfect, but light embodying of a single idea, exhibiting only its poetic features linked together by an almost imperceptible train of suggestions, — that capacity of satisfying without exhausting each point, which should distinguish this species of composition, and for which, among English poets, Burns and Wordsworth are so remarkable. The proper qualifications of a lyric poet, — the mobility and universality of feeling, — the heart's ready sympathy with every thought or image, which the fancy may suggest, — these were possessed by Schiller in a very imperfect degree. He was deficient in *poetic feeling*; a quality more essential in fugitive poetry, than in productions of a graver cast. Here was Schiller's great defect; and it is a defect, which, in the final judgment of the world, will prevent him, we think, from occupying the station which he now holds in the rank of poets. We have ventured, with some hesitation, to offer the following translations of two, among those of his minor poems, which have given us the greatest pleasure. The extreme difficulty of rendering lyric metres from such a language as the German, into corresponding English measures, must be our apology for the liberties we have taken

with these and other pieces. It has been our aim, rather to preserve the tone and spirit of the original, than to convey the exact meaning of each particular verse.

“THE PILGRIM.

Life's first beams were bright around me
When I left my father's cot,
Breaking every tie that bound me
To that dear and hallowed spot.

Childish hopes and youthful pleasures,
Freely I renounced them all,
Went in quest of nobler treasures,
Trusting to a higher call.

For to me a voice had spoken,
And a Spirit seemed to say
Wander forth! — the path is broken,
Yonder, eastward lies thy way.

Rest not till a golden portal
Thou hast reached; — there enter in,
And what thou hast prized as mortal,
There, immortal life shall win.

Evening came and morn succeeded,
On I sped and never tired;
Cold, nor heat, nor storm I heeded,
Boundless hope my soul inspired.

Giant cliffs rose up before me,
Horrid wilds around me lay,
O'er the cliffs my spirit bore me,
Through the wilds I forced my way;

Came to where a mighty river
Eastward rolled its sullen tide;
Forth I launched with bold endeavour, —
'Pilgrim stream be thou my guide!'

It hath brought me to the ocean,
Now, upon the wide, wide sea,
Where's the land of my devotion?
What I seek seems still to flee.

Woe is me! no path leads thither,
Earth's horizons still retreat;
Yonder never will come hither,
Sea and sky will never meet!"

"RITTER TOGGENBURG.

A BALLAD.

'Knight, the love I owe a brother
I devote to thee, —
Seek, bold Knight, oh seek no other!
For it may not be.
Let me see thy peace returning
And thy self-command,
My calm soul thy restless yearning
Cannot understand.'

And the Knight he heard in silence,
Durst no longer stay,
From her arms with sudden violence
Tore himself away.
Straight his followers round him rallied,
Formed a gallant band:
With the cross begirt, they sallied
To the Holy Land.

There, his figure wan and gory
Led the battle's van,
And with many a deed of glory
Scared the Mussulman.
But the barb still rankled in him,
Fame brought no relief,
Back to life it could not win him,
Could not soothe his grief.

Twelve long months he bore the burden
He could bear no more,
Then renounced the victor's guerdon
And the Paynim shore;
Saw a vessel, home returning,
Sail from Joppa's strand,
Flew to still his spirit's yearning
In his native land.

To the loved one's hall he bounded :
At her castle gate,
Sad, alas! the tidings sounded,
He had come too late.
'She you seek, from earth translated,
With the convent's vows,
Yesterday was consecrated
Heaven's accepted spouse.'

Then the Knight renounced for ever
Castle, sword and spear,
Saw his faithful vassals never,
Nor his steed so dear ;
Left the grey ancestral towers,
Famed for knightly deeds,
Went in quest of humbler bowers,
Clothed in pilgrim's weeds ;

Near her consecrated dwelling
Built his hermit-cell,
Where along the valley swelling
Pealed the convent bell.
There in lowly self-abasement,
Humble and resigned,
Oft he gazed toward the casement
Where his love was shrined.

Till her figure he discovered,
Till her image mild
Bending o'er the valley hovered,
On the valley smiled.
Then the Knight forgot his sorrow,
And, released from pain,
Slept in peace, until the morrow
Bade him weep again.

Years he spent in that lone bower,
Steadfast and resigned,
Watching still the convent tower
Where his love was shrined.
Thus one morning found him lying
Wrapt in death's embrace ;
Calm the eye that even in dying
Gazed on that dear face."

Schiller's genius did not confine itself to poetry. His fame, as an historian, is not less extensive, and will, probably, prove as lasting, as his dramatic reputation. His "Thirty Years' War" and his "Revolt of the Netherlands" (although the latter work is a fragment) are beautiful specimens of philosophic history, and probably have never been surpassed by any thing in that department.

As a philosopher, Schiller has added nothing to the reputation which his country has acquired in that province of intellectual labor. He has thrown no light on the great topics of transcendental inquiry. His philosophical lucubrations are mostly occupied with doubts and queries, to the solution of which no key is given. *Reason*, or the intuitive faculty, appears in him to have been almost dormant. He had thought much on those questions respecting matter and spirit, life and form, human nature and human destiny, which must needs occupy, at some time or other, every reflecting mind; but he labored with the understanding only, and therefore to little purpose. He was one of those inquirers, who are destined never to come to any fixed decision, never to be at peace with themselves, but to wander through life without any settled faith, for ever seeking and never finding. From a mind so conditioned, a regular system of philosophy was not to be expected, nor is it easy to gather from Schiller's writings a decided philosophical opinion of any kind. So far, however, as his views in relation to the subject abovementioned are discoverable from his poetry, they appear to be somewhat tinged with materialism and its accompanying fatalism. The strong contempt for metaphysics, which he has expressed in some of his minor poems,* sufficiently accounts for the defectiveness of his philosophy, and proves that, however he might study Kant for æsthetic purposes, he had no faith nor any hearty interest in the progress and success of that science, whose high calling it is to unfold and to interpret the spiritual world. As a worshipper of Truth, he could not be indifferent to the objects of metaphysical inquiry, but he was no believer in the possibility of their being attained by human efforts.

* See "Die Philosophen," "Der Metaphysiker," and "Die Weltweisen."

The most prominent quality in Schiller's intellectual character, — that which formed the foundation of his success as a poet, — was, unquestionably, his creative power, his ability to produce finished works of art, characterized by unity of purpose, continuity of interest, and entireness of effect. Works of this kind are more rare in German, than in any other literature. Possessed with the love of philosophizing peculiar to their countrymen, the writers of fiction in that language have ever some other object in view than the regular and harmonious developement of the subject before them. The progress of a story, the interest of a plot, are with them matters of secondary importance ; it is the exhibition of some variety of human nature, or some form of human life ; the exercise of the imagination, the indulgence of personal or general satire, or the illustration of some philosophical truth, which chiefly occupies them. The story is nothing more than a pretence for bringing these things before the public. This is particularly true of their better novels, which differ, in this respect, from those of every other nation. They have nothing epic, they pursue no straight-forward course ; the reader is not, as in one of Scott's or Miss Edgeworth's compositions, hurried irresistibly along by a single thread of narrative, which holds him captive until the work is finished, but is placed in a labyrinth of striking thoughts and beautiful illustrations, having no necessary connexion or dependence, through which he is left to find his way as he can. This it is, that so perplexes English readers on their first introduction to German literature. Unacquainted with this species of composition, they sit down to a German novel as they would to an English work of the same title, never doubting but that they are to be entertained with a pleasant story ; instead of which, they are treated to a series of philosophical disquisitions.

This species of composition, as it has been managed by Goethe and Jean Paul, seems to us to hold a much higher rank than the historical novel. That it should be less attractive to the mass of readers, we can easily conceive ; but we are persuaded that no person of cultivated mind who takes up one of Goethe's novels, knowing what he is to expect, and not judging according to rules drawn from the works of other countries, will find them deficient in interest. This

feature in German works of fiction proceeds rather from a peculiarity of taste, than from want of epic power, the existence of which, in that nation, has been sufficiently proved by many of their lighter works, particularly by those of Tieck, Hoffman, and Baron Motte Fouqué. In general, however, it must be allowed that the German genius is too expansive for epic composition, it loves to lose itself in airy speculations, and wants that contractile power which is necessary to concentrate the interest of a work around a single point. To this general rule, Schiller forms a remarkable exception. There never was a poet in whose works unity and wholeness, harmony of form and concentration of interest, were more conspicuous than in his. In this respect he seems less intimately related to his own country than most of his contemporaries. We cannot subscribe to the sentence which has pronounced him a peculiarly *national* poet. We know of no German writer, unless it be Tieck, who is less German.

Schiller's writings are characterized by an exuberance of beautiful thought; they abound in noble sentiments and memorable sayings, and would furnish forth a large commonplace book of choice extracts. Few writers afford so rich a field for quotation; it is hardly possible to open a volume of his works without lighting upon some striking truth, which, if not absolutely new, has all the force and charm of novelty. His diction, though far from elegant, is always spirited and full of nervous strength. Eloquence may be reckoned one of his most prominent attributes.

As a set-off against these and other excellences, impartial criticism obliges us to mention some no less prominent defects. We have already alluded to the want of poetic feeling. That finer spirit which animates so many of our English poets, which constitutes the principal charm of Milton, Wordsworth, and others, which occasionally enlivens Goethe's page and breathes through every line of Uhland, — that undefinable essence, which consists not in any metaphysical subtilty of thought, but in infinite refinement of feeling, — forms no element in Schiller's verse. He is eloquent, but not poetical. Nearly allied to this defect is the want of sympathy with nature. That Schiller was capable of describing nature no one can doubt, who has read "The

Walk" or "William Tell"; but the manner in which he describes her convinces us that

"Nature ne'er could find the way
Into his heart."

His descriptions are accurate and strongly colored, but stiff and formal; unlike the descriptions of one, who reproduces the scene described from his own conceptions, but rather resembling sketches copied from sight, line for line, with the anxious minuteness of one who reads nature with the eye only, and thinks to convey an adequate impression by giving a labored portrait. He describes as the ancients described, and as Scott describes. The forms of outward things painted themselves in his mind singly and in their local order, and there remained as separate existences, having no essential connexion. It is not thus, that Nature presents herself to one who has felt all her power, and has learned to interpret her forms. With such a one there is no separation of parts, but a mental solution of each element into one whole. A landscape to him is not a *collection* of trees, hills, and streams, but a living thing breathing, waving, glowing with pulses and organs, that seem endued with conscious being. Whoever will compare one of Scott's minute and laborious descriptions of natural scenery, with a careless sketch from Wordsworth's Muse, cannot fail to perceive the difference we are attempting to define. The latter poet whom we can never think of but as an out-door liver, — a wanderer by wood and stream, — has beautifully illustrated that peculiar feeling, which we have termed sympathy with nature, from his own experience.

"And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round Ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things."

We shall not bring in judgment against Schiller the puerile and often absurd extravagances of his earlier produc-

tions; in consideration of the severe judgment which the author himself passed upon them at a later period, and the care with which he avoided them in his subsequent works. We only regret that, instead of revising these juvenile efforts, he suffered them to go down to posterity in their present crude condition.

In addition to the abovementioned defects, we cannot forbear mentioning one which would not have been noticed in a writer of less serious pretensions, but must not be passed over in a poet of Schiller's standing. From a first-rate poet we expect something more than poetry. We expect a familiarity with every form of mental action, and above all we expect that *philosophic wisdom* which is the crown of human attainments, — that wisdom which not only perceives the true relations and exact value of passing forms and occurrences, but has power to penetrate far into the future, and, from its knowledge of the influences which guide the course of human affairs, to cast the figure of coming times. It was not without reason that the poet and the prophet were originally designated by a common appellation. Something of the prophetic spirit the genuine priest of Apollo should always possess. He should unite with other offices peculiar to his high calling, that of the sage and the seer. Raised above the passions and conflicts of this lower world, he should be able to look down with an untroubled eye, and a just discrimination, and a clear forecast on the path of human destiny; and though, seeing only in part, he can prophesy only in part, he should fall no whit below the highest degree of mental illumination accorded to man. Among the few who have attained this light, Schiller has no place. We have already seen that he was no philosopher, and it need scarcely be added, that the want of a settled philosophy must necessarily have precluded those clear views of nature and life, which constitute the kind of wisdom we are describing. Few have excelled him in the power of giving form and color to all that came within the sphere of his discernment, but that sphere was bounded by the commonest limits of human vision.

On what grounds the American editor of this biography pronounces our author a "*moral poet*," we are at a loss to divine. That he has written nothing very wicked, certainly affords no ground for such an appellation. The

most that can be said of him is, that the tendency of his writings is not decidedly immoral. But surely something more is necessary than this negative quality to constitute a moral poet. We are not aware that there is any thing in Schiller's productions that should give him a preëminence in this respect above the rest of his countrymen.

In the estimation of the Germans, Schiller has long held the foremost place among native poets, and probably will long continue to do so. A select circle prefer Goethe, but Schiller is the poet of the *people*. This popularity is to be attributed partly to the fact that he is more intelligible than most of his countrymen, and partly to the zeal with which, in early life, he advocated liberal sentiments; but principally to the circumstance that he was a *dramatic* poet, that he wrote for the stage, and was therefore continually brought before the people. A play-writer possesses, in this respect, great advantages, as has been observed by Richter with particular reference to the case of Schiller.

"I will devote," says this writer, in his *Katzenberger's Baderesse*, "a brief episode to the benefit of stage-poets, showing why *they* are in much greater danger of being made fools to vanity than other authors. In the first place, it is evident, how far one of the latter class with his scattered recluse-readers, — honored but little, and that only by cultivated men, — applauded only in the silence and retirement of studies a hundred miles distant from each other, — read perhaps twice in succession, but not *heard* forty times in succession, — it is evident, I say, how far such an Iru in fame, a 'John Lackland,' falls below the stage-poet, who not only wears these laurel-gleanings upon his head, but adds to them the rich harvest, — that prince and chimney-sweep, and every generation, and every age, get his thoughts into their heads and his name into their mouths, — that often the most miserable market-towns, whenever a more miserable strolling actor's theatre moves into them, harness themselves to the triumphal car upon which such a writer is borne, &c.

"There are a hundred other advantages which, by means of the figure of omission (*figura prateritionis*), we might mention, but which we prefer to omit; this, for example, that a dramatic author (and oftentimes he is present and hears all) employs, as it were, a whole corporation of hands in

his service (at home one man only holds him in his left, vexatiously turning over the leaves with the right); — furthermore, that he is learned by heart, not only by the actors, but, after continual repetition, by the hearers also, — that he is continually praised anew in all the standing, though tedious, theatrical notices of the daily and monthly journals. Whence follow many things; for example, that an ordinary writer, like Jünger or Kotzebue, lives longer in his plays which are *heard*, than in his novels which are *read*. Hence we may explain the fact, that our cold Germany has exerted herself so much and so well for Schiller and so little for Herder. For, if worth were the measure of gratitude, Herder, the earlier, the loftier, the more many-sided genius, the Oriental-Grecian, the opposer (in his popular ballads) of Schiller's reflective poetry, the spirit who labored with forming energy in so many sciences, and whose only fault was, that he did not fly with all his wings, but, like those prophet-figures, was covered by four, while raised by two, — this man would have deserved a monument, not by the side of, but above Schiller, if, as has been said, it were not for the actors, or the public which has so few sides to match his many-sidedness."

It is much to be regretted that a writer of Schiller's standing, in this age of the world, should have devoted the principal part of his life to a department of art so questionable in its tendency, and so surely destined to decay, as the drama. We have neither time nor inclination to explain our objections to theatrical amusements. The fact, that Goethe in his latter years regretted having devoted so large a portion of his time and talents to these pursuits,* furnishes a stronger argument against them than any reasoning which we could offer.

The relation in which Schiller and Goethe stood to each other, has led to many comparisons of their respective merits. We shall not repeat the parallel so often drawn, and for which there is, in our estimation, so little ground. Goethe and Schiller differed too widely, in kind and in degree, to admit of any just comparison between them. Of the latter we will not say, as was said by some of his own

* See Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre, chap. 13th, Vienna ed. 1821.

countrymen, judging in the spirit of a too narrow distinction, — that he was “no poet,” — on the contrary, in the words of Goethe, “we make bold to call him a poet, and a great poet;” and, though constrained to place him immeasurably below his illustrious colleague, we cannot but allow him a high rank in that immortal band, who by their learning and their genius have raised Germany to an equality with the most cultivated nations of the earth, and given to the German mind an influence over the rest of the world, the more remarkable from the fact, that the physical and political condition of that country have precluded it from acquiring any ascendancy by extension of commerce or force of arms.

ART. V. — *Sermons on Duties belonging to Some of the Conditions and Relations of Private Life.* By JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M., Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Cambridge. Boston. Charles Bowen. 1834. 8vo. pp. 368.

WE are happy in expressing our obligation to the diligent and faithful author of these discourses for this valuable contribution to the stores, already rich and various, of pulpit instruction. Of the topics of preaching, few, we believe, will be found more profitable, than those of the class composing this volume. For, however necessary or interesting may be the discussion of other subjects, as the illustration of the doctrines, the exhibition of the evidences or of the history of Christianity, — and no one will doubt, that in their due places and proportion these will engage the attention of every faithful teacher, — there are none, which may more profitably be enforced, than those relating to the private and social duties of life. The intimacy and sacredness of these relations, in which almost every human being, directly or by reflection, partakes; their close connexion with the highest interests of human life; the daily recurrence of some of the duties they involve; the delicacy, arduousness, and sometimes the perplexity of others, and the undeniable importance of all in every just

view that can be taken of religion, secure for this class of topics an interest, which sermons, it must be confessed, do not always excite. Every one perceives, that here are considered relations which he fills now, or hopes to fill hereafter, or of the discharge of which by others he is the object, and is therefore personally concerned, that they be fulfilled faithfully. It is precisely of this last description of duties men love to hear more than of any others. On the same principle, that it is pleasanter to think of the sins of our neighbour than of our own, we prefer to hear of the offices, which others are to perform for us, rather than of those, which we are to render to them.

Accordingly, of the vast body of sermons preached or published, those have been welcomed with special pleasure, and, what is more to the purpose, have better accomplished, we are disposed to believe, the objects of preaching, which have treated, as is successfully done by the writer before us, the duties of the aged and of the young, of husbands and wives, of parents and children, of brethren and sisters, of masters and servants; or those, which grow out of the particular conditions or changes of the human lot, as of prosperity or affliction, riches or poverty, sickness or health. Hence they who are conversant with the sermons of the most eminent practical preachers, will not fail to distinguish, as claiming special commendation, those of Barrow, on some of the most common personal virtues, as patience, contentment, and industry in our callings, or against some social vices, as censoriousness, evil speaking, and meddling with other men's business; those of Tillotson, on the parental education of children and sincerity of speech; others of Secker, on the duties of the rich and poor, of the young, the aged, and the sick; the admirable devotional discourses of Cappe, upon the uses of sickness, and the benefits of affliction; with many more recent productions by our own, as well as by English divines, whom we need not here particularize.

These discourses of Professor Palfrey are entitled to an honorable place with those we have mentioned. And they have the superior advantage of presenting within the limits of a single volume, — of no ordinary typographical beauty, — a natural and systematic arrangement of most of the private

social duties. For ourselves, we have perused them with satisfaction and thankfulness to the author. The careless, and we know not but we should add, the critical reader, will scarcely help complaining of the occasional length of the sentences, and sometimes, it must be confessed, of an involved expression, leaving him in doubt of a meaning, which upon search, he may find too good and full to be lost or obscured. But with this exception, he will not fail to profit from the discriminating, weighty, and instructive manner of the preacher; from the tone of deep seriousness, moreover, and not seldom the eloquence, with which his various topics are enforced.

Of these topics, there will be found some in this volume of acknowledged difficulty and delicacy. The relations, for example, of the rich and the poor, of masters and of servants, as existing in our free community, and under our forms of government, are such as require, for their discussion, a tender and judicious, as well as faithful hand. The mutual rights and obligations of husbands and wives, the heart-stirring question, when power shall be exercised and when submission must be yielded, are points of indescribable interest. And to exhibit faithfully, yet reverently, "*The Duties of the Aged*" is no easy task to a preacher, himself scarcely in the meridian of his days. Now upon these, and points of like delicacy, Mr. Palfrey seems to us to have exercised singular judgment and fidelity.

Thus, in discoursing of the duties and temptations of old age, having spoken of its tendency to avarice and self-indulgence, he remarks, that the aged are in danger of becoming opinionative and dogmatical. And in his illustration of this, we are reminded of the sentiment of the eminent Dr. Beddoes, who in complaining of the unreasonable distrust usually felt of young physicians, and the blind confidence as generally reposed in the old, observes, that the boasted experience of the latter, may possibly prove only an accumulation of errors, the antiquated prejudices of youth, which years had not corrected, but rather multiplied and made inveterate.

"The advantage of experience is what gives age the better claim to the praise of wisdom. But he is not always most experienced who is oldest. Experience is not merely given by years; it is to be gathered by care; and, of two men, he will

often have the most of its instructions, who has had the least of its discipline. The respective advantages and disposition for becoming acquainted with a given subject, as well as the length of time that one has lived in the world, are to be taken into view in determining the probability whether one or another is best acquainted with it. It may even well happen, that the opinion which claims to be announced on the authority of experience, had been taken up at an early period of life, when its advocate was much less experienced than he is now who dissents from it, and had been maintained since only from habit, and without examination. In such cases, the claim of ampler experience is evidently not to be urged by age. And in all cases it is rather one for youth respectfully to acknowledge, than for age arrogantly to assert." — pp. 66, 67.

The following sentiment will be prized for its encouragement and consolation, by the infirm and exhausted Christian, who, in his days of labor and sorrow, is ready to say, not only "I have no pleasure in them," but "I have lost, what to me was of far more value, the ability of doing good."

"Let no one venture to call himself useless as long as he can remember, and judge, and speak, though there should be nothing else that he can do. So long he may be most useful, for so long he can bear a testimony, which from him will be impressive, to the worth of Christian goodness, and point out to younger travellers its path of peace. Nay, so long as in those days, which are called days of labor and sorrow, he is able to show the power of the religion of Jesus, to help him to suffer with serenity, so long he may be doing a service to those around him, more precious than man can estimate. And let none be insensible to the responsibilities which this age thus imposes on them. With the reverence, which attaches to it, its discourse and its example must needs have a vast influence, whether for good or evil. Are the stores of its guilty experience exposed, to clothe vice in new attractions, or teach to less practised cunning, new deceits? The worst work of depravity is then done while the sinner is drawing nearest to his doom. Is it employed to the last in winning souls to truth and heaven, by the rich lessons of its wisdom, and the beautiful attractions of its virtues? There is scarcely an earthly ministry of benevolence so powerful, or so deserving of all hearty gratitude." — pp. 75, 76.

The three sermons to the young, which form an appropri-

ate commencement of the volume, abound in weighty reflections, worthy the deep consideration of those, to whom they are addressed. In the first, particularly, is exhibited in its solemn light, the importance of early religion and the inestimable value of that golden period of our days, in establishing a conviction of its truth, and subjecting the affections, habits, and life to its power.

The dangers of the rich, are exhibited with a graceful union of fearlessness, honesty, and courtesy, well becoming the pulpit. Of these, the preacher first mentions the arrogant spirit, which their condition is apt to engender, the folly and impolicy, no less than cruelty of which, are made evident. We do not believe, that arrogance is the sin most easily besetting the rich in our community, where wealth alone, when coupled with profligacy, or only serving to make folly conspicuous, will not avail to protect, still less to make honorable the possessor. But there is another fault, far more common among us. "This," to adopt the description of our author, "is that vain and thoughtless elation of feeling, which, without taking the form of an offensive deportment to others, is itself a wasting evil to the individual mind."

It is easy from this general description to see at once the nature of the evil; and, from the graphic delineation which is given of its bad effects, they, who are in danger, and many such there be, may take warning.

We invite attention to the excellent discourses on the duties of the sick. This is a numerous class of sufferers among the human family, with whom, at any hour, accident,—or that which men call such,—may set us. The most vigorous of to-day, whose strength is as brass, and whose hopes are most buoyant, may, before to-morrow, become the victims of disease, and days and nights of weariness be appointed them. It is surprising, when we consider the perpetual and universal exposure to this trial, how little preparation is usually made for it; and how little attention is given, when it comes, to the nature and variety of the duties belonging to it. The passive virtues only, forbearance from complaining, and that vague and indefinite feeling which passes for resignation, and which, it is to be feared, is oftener expressed for decorum's sake, than realized, are usually regarded as the demanded graces of the patient. This error

is refuted by our author, and we regret, that our limits permit us only to refer to the eloquent passage (page 110), in which he shows, that there is "hardly a place of more responsible service than a sick chamber; a place where Christian principle is better tried, or a more heroic spirit may shine forth."

The relation of master and servant, as existing in our free community, and under institutions, in which the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed, are continually alternating conditions, is one of a confessedly difficult nature; and no small measure of good sense as well as of right feeling is essential, on both sides, to the faithful discharge, and even just understanding of their duties. This delicate topic Mr. Palfrey has treated with his accustomed prudence and considerateness. He enforces on masters the peremptory obligation of punctual payment of wages, which may never unrighteously be kept back; a kind regard to the feelings of servants, which "are often delicate and always human;" justice to their characters and interests; abstaining from displeasure uncalled for, or unreasonable in degree, from all arrogance and contempt in our deportment, and consulting, as far as we are able, their wishes, their comfort, and, above all, their spiritual welfare.

In enforcing, on the other side, the duties of servants, who are commanded by apostolic authority to obey their masters in all things, it is shown, that this obedience has respect to the nature of the service required, and the spirit in which it is to be rendered; it being, of course, in subordination to the will of God, whose laws may never be violated in submission to any human authority.

In the explanation of the text, from Colossians iii. 22, and iv. 1, we find the following very important reflection; and we set it down in this place for the special instruction of such ardent but mistaken philanthropists among us, as think they are justified, from their abhorrence of slavery and their zeal for universal emancipation, to interfere with the constitutions of civil government, or the personal rights of individuals.

"The Apostle in the text," says the preacher, "had reference to the condition of involuntary servitude, which though Christianity could not approve, it did not undertake at once to overthrow, but left to be supplanted in the gradual progress of its benevolent principles; steadily true, in this as in other

things, to the rule of not rudely disturbing the political relations of society, but merely establishing principles, which in the gradual course of time, would surely and safely reform them all." — p. 343.

Under the general description of servants, is here included that very numerous and important class of our young brethren and fellow-citizens, apprentices. Their condition, duties, and temptations cannot fail of being a subject of lively interest to all friends of youth, who know from experience their dangers, and to every reflecting member of the community. The peculiar exposures of that portion of our young men, who leave the protection of the domestic roof and the simple habits of the country, for employment in the city, are fearfully presented in the discourse, with which the volumes concludes. We earnestly concur with the writer, in the opinion, that for this exposed portion of society "it is fully time that more thought was taken;" and we hope his good suggestions will be followed.

"Year by year, there come into the city, numbers of youth of good prospects, of happy promise to their friends, and as yet fair characters, to take at first the subordinate tasks in the business by which they hope in due time to get their living. Dismissed from the domestic watch of their parents' home, where their purity had hitherto been protected, and not received into the house of their employers, they suddenly become, except in their hours of service, completely their own masters, at the most tempted age. In the excitement of the first view of a gay and crowded capital, inexperienced, new to the exercise of such entire liberty, they dwell for the most part with a number of their equals, who may improve or may corrupt them; but at all events free, through their hours of leisure, from any control or effectual oversight. Often, it may be supposed, no cognizance whatever is taken by their masters of the way in which they employ the time, not required to be past by them at their place of business. Unquestioned, they are at liberty to disturb the night with their revellings, and profane the sabbath, and annoy its quiet worshippers, with the speed and noise of their excursions of boisterous mirth; and, through the means of this license, falling in with the solicitations and example of bad company, it is to be feared that not a few, without having, like others, principle enough of their own to protect them, are ruined, year by year. I would ask, whether the public quiet is not to be protected from them, or, what is of more consequence, whether their own innocence is not to be protected against

their own inexperience? If this is to be done, by whom must it be done, except by masters, to whom alone, in the absence of parents they are directly responsible? Is it not due from masters to them, to extend some superintendence over the course which they are taking, and endeavour to raise some barriers between them and temptation; to interpose for their security with seasonable counsel; to open to them their own houses, and put them, for their hours of relaxation, in the way of other safe and improving society; to facilitate their attention to useful and engaging studies; to take care that they choose their homes, where the influences of domestic association upon them will be salutary; and to provide for them the means of a profitable employment of the Lord's day, and have it understood, that it is expected of them to employ those means, — as a privilege, if they are wise enough so to esteem it, — and if not, then as a duty, which they who are wiser feel bound to prescribe? — pp. 360 – 362.

Though our extracts are multiplying, we think those of our readers, who may not see this volume, will thank us for offering them a share in the pleasure we have taken in the following beautiful picture of the relation of brother and sister.

“In particular, the relation of brother and sister to one another, is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful which Providence has instituted; forbidding, from the different pursuits of the two sexes, any thing of that rivalry and interference, which is so often the bane of friendship among other equals, and, without the possibility of the sentiment being tainted with any alloy of passion, finding scope for that peculiar tenderness, strength, trustiness of attachment, which belong to the relation of delicacy, dependence, and retirement on the one part, to energy, self-reliance, and enterprise on the other. Is any thing more delightful, than to witness this relation sustained, as God, when he arranged it, designed that it should be? a mutual confidence, and esteem, and sense of privilege in each other's regard, evinced and renewed in every daily communication; the sister watching the brother's growing virtues and consequence with a modest pride, while she checks his adventurousness with her well-timed scruples, and finds for him a way to look more cheerfully on his defeats, — the brother, looking on the sister's graces with a fondness that would be like a parent's, only that it is gayer, more confident, and more given to expression, and studying, with ambitious assiduity, to requite the gentle guidance, to which his impetuous spirit delights to yield

itself; the one, zealous and constant in all acceptable kindnesses, in her secluded sphere, which God has given her an intuitive sagacity to invent, the other delighting to communicate all means of improvement, which his different opportunities of education have prepared him to offer; the one, gratefully conscious of a protection as watchful as it will be prompt and firm, the other of an interested love, which, whether in silence or in words, can speak his praises, the most movingly, where he may most desire to have them spoken. Is any thing in the relations appointed by him, who, for wise and kind ends, 'hath set the solitary in families,' more delightful to witness, than such a brotherly and sisterly devotion? If there be, it is what remains to be added to the picture. It is seen, when they who are thus united, make the younger members of their band a common care, and turn back to offer the gentle and encouraging hand of a love more discreet than that of mere equals, and more familiar than the parental, to lead their childish unpractised steps along that path of filial piety, of fraternal union and religious wisdom, which themselves, walking together in it, have found, throughout, a way of such pleasantness and peace. Yes; earth has no fairer sight, than a company, so marshalled, of young travellers to heaven." — pp. 333 – 335.

On the whole, few volumes of sermons, will be found, we believe, more useful than this, whether we consider the nature of the subjects treated, or the fullness, variety, and importance of the thoughts exhibited. We must regret, that they are not generally characterized by more simplicity of style, because in all other respects they are eminently adapted to do good to all classes of readers. They may instruct those who have yet to learn, and establish those who already believe, that religion is to be exhibited in the most common walks and offices of life; that they, who aspire to be Christians and sons of God, must be good husbands and fathers, good wives and children, good masters and servants; and try to make themselves and their families the better and the happier, by "showing piety at home."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

1. *The Charge of Ignorance and Misrepresentation proved against Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.* From the Salem Gazette. Salem. 1833. 8vo. pp. 16. — 2. *The Charge of Ignorance and Misrepresentation proved against "A LOVER OF CUDWORTH AND TRUTH."* From the Salem Gazette. Salem. 1833. 8vo. pp. 24. — 3. *Charity supported by Orthodoxy; Mr. CHEEVER convicted of Ignorance and Misrepresentation, and the Unitarian Faith vindicated.* From the Salem Gazette. Salem. 1834. 8vo. pp. 72. — 4. *Conclusion of the Salem Controversy.* From the Salem Gazette. Salem. 1834. 8vo. pp. 30. — These pamphlets are republications of articles which appeared, in the first instance, in a Salem newspaper, over the signature, "Unitarian," and make part of a controversy provoked by Mr. Cheever's attack on the *character* of Unitarians, "abusive," as it has justly been said, "to a degree unparalleled even in the worst days of theological intolerance and bigotry." The controversy has been carried on with considerable warmth, and led to frequent recriminations and personalities; and this circumstance, together with the impression, that it might help the pretended "Lover of Cudworth and Truth," to the notoriety, which seems to have been his principal object in writing, has inclined some, entertaining the same opinion with ourselves of his intellectual and moral qualities, to question, whether it would not have been better, if no notice whatever had been taken of his "vituperations." We respect the feelings which suggest this doubt; but, at the same time, we believe it to be unauthorized, and that the interests of truth and justice require, imperiously require, that such flippant and unscrupulous assailants, at least until their pretensions are better understood in the community, should be promptly met, and their "ignorance and misrepresentations" be exposed, as in the pamphlets before us. Except that Mr. Cheever, writing over his proper signature in the "Boston Recorder," took occasion highly to extol and recommend his own anonymous communications in the "Salem Gazette," there has been, we believe, a singular unanimity among all parties, in regard to the extreme folly and wickedness of his course, — a kind of distinction not likely to be mistaken, we should think, even by him, for fame. "Unitarian" was constrained, as is commonly the case in discussions of this nature, to give more of his attention than could have been wished, to topics aside from the great questions at

issue ; but he evinces throughout much ability, research, and skill, and a Christian temper ; and his two last pamphlets, especially, contain treatises on general subjects, such as inspiration, atonement, and the trinity, which may be read everywhere, and will long continue to be read, with advantage and satisfaction.

Massachusetts School Fund. The Legislature of this State passed an Act, at their last session, which provides, "That from and after the first day of January next, all moneys in the Treasury, derived from the sale of lands in the State of Maine, and from the claim of the State on the government of the United States for military services, and not otherwise appropriated, together with fifty *per centum* of all moneys thereafter to be received from the sale of lands in Maine, shall be appropriated to constitute a permanent Fund, for the aid and encouragement of Common Schools : *Provided*, That said Fund shall never exceed One Million of Dollars." The funds already in the Treasury, from the two sources above mentioned, and not otherwise appropriated, amount, we believe, to between four and five hundred thousand dollars. It is further provided by the Act, that the income of this Fund shall be distributed in the Commonwealth in furtherance of the objects specified, "in such manner as the Legislature shall hereafter appoint : *Provided*, That there shall never be paid to any City, Town, or District, a greater sum than is raised therein respectively, for the support of Common Schools." The Committee, in their report, recommended the appointment of two Commissioners, whose duty it should be, by personal investigations, to collect the necessary information on the subject, "and prepare a project of a law for the distribution of the income of the School Fund, and the improvement of the system of Common Schools, and report the same to the next Legislature." This plan, however, we regret to say, was not adopted ; but, in lieu thereof, it was resolved, that circulars should be issued by the Secretary, requiring the School Committees of the several towns to make full and specific answers to certain inquiries, respecting the state of the Common Schools, and of education generally, within their respective limits ; and, in case any town fails to make such returns, it forfeits its share of the income of the Fund, in the first year of its distribution. The Secretary is to "cause an abstract of these returns to be prepared, and one thousand copies thereof printed, for the use of the next General Court, and laid before them during the first week of their session."

A volume of Discourses, by the late Rev. E. S. GOODWIN, of Sandwich, with a Memoir of their Author, by the Rev. Mr. GOODWIN, of Concord, is announced. We also understand, that the Rev. Professor WARE, Junior, is preparing for the press a volume of Sermons, by the late Dr. PARKER, of Portsmouth, to which a Memoir, by the editor, will be prefixed.

The Christian Connexion have united in supporting a single religious newspaper, *The Gospel Palladium*, published at Broad-albin, N. Y., under the direction of the Christian Union Book Association, and edited by the Rev. Joseph Badger.

The first volume of a translation of *Tholuck's Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, has appeared in the *Biblical Cabinet*, published in Edinburgh. The publisher gives notice of other translations as in progress, to wit:—

Vol. II. of a Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, translated from the original German of Professor Tholuck of Halle. By the Rev. R. Menzies.

The Institutes of Interpretation of the Old Testament, translated from the original of Professor Pareau, of Utrecht. By the Rev. Dr. Forbes, Professor of Humanity, &c., King's College, Aberdeen.

A Collection of Philological and Exegetical Tracts, illustrating difficult passages in the New Testament, translated from the works of Noesselt, Knappe, and Storr. By the Rev. Thomas Byrth, A. M., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Perpetual Curate of St. James', Latchford, Lancashire.

A Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Peter, translated from the original German of Dr. Steiger. By Dr. Nachot.

An Exposition of the Parables of Jesus, translated from the original German of Dr. Lisko. By the Rev. J. B. Patterson, Falkirk.

Excursus Koppiani; being a selection of the most important *Excursus* from Koppe's Edition of the New Testament, translated by the Rev. W. Cunningham of Greenock.

A Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians, from the original German of the Rev. K. C. W. F. Bähr.

A History of the Establishing and Conducting of the Christian Church by the Apostles, translated from the original German of Dr. Neander. By the Rev. James Hamilton.

An Introduction to the Characteristic Dialect of the

Authors of the New Testament, translated from the original German of Christ. Gott. Gersdorff.

A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, from the original German of H. A. Christ. Hävernicks.

A Critical Inquiry into the Entire Genuineness of the Book of the Prophecies of Isaiah, from the German of Professor A. F. Kleinert.

A Critical Inquiry into the Authenticity and Integrity of the Books of Daniel and Zechariah, from the German of Professor Hengstenberg of Berlin.

An Introduction to the Hermeneutics of the Authors of the New Testament, from the German of Dr. J. Christ. C. Döpke.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, translated from the Original of Börger, Weiner, Koppe, &c. By the Rev. W. B. Cunningham, Prestonpans.

Messrs. Manson, Emerson, & Co., of Cambridge, advertise as in press a new edition of the Common English Bible, comprising the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha, to be printed under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Coit, of the Episcopal Church. In this edition, the division into chapters and verses is rejected, and one into paragraphs, according to the sense, is substituted, and the poetic portions are printed in parallelisms, after the manner of Lowth's "Isaiah." In other respects, they propose to follow the best and most carefully collated editions, Dr. Blayney's folio of 1769 being taken as the standard. All headings of chapters and column titles are discarded in the new arrangement, but the numerals for the chapters and verses will be set in the margin, so that, for reference, this will be as convenient as any other edition.

Professor Torrey, of the University of Vermont, is preparing a new translation of *Neander's History of the Christian Church*, the first volume of which work, translated in England by H. J. Rose, was noticed about two years ago, in this journal. The second volume of Rose's Translation has not, we believe, been published.

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